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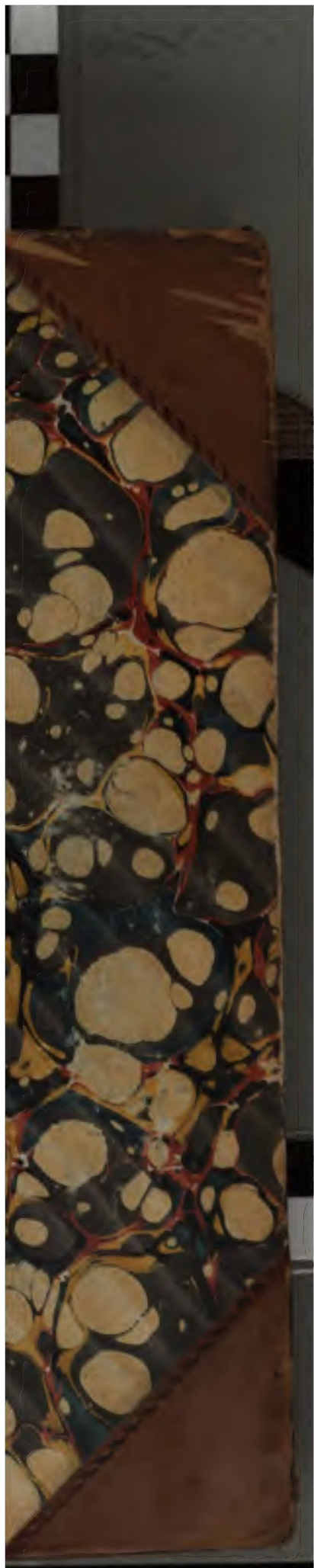
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OXFORD: PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOIS.

A MANUAL
OF
ANCIENT HISTORY,

PARTICULARLY

WITH REGARD TO THE CONSTITUTIONS,
THE COMMERCE, AND THE COLONIES,
OF THE STATES OF ANTIQUITY,

BY A. H. L. HEEREN;

KNIGHT OF THE NORTH STAR AND GUELPHIC ORDER; AULIC COUNSELLOR
AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN;
AND MEMBER OF SEVERAL OTHER LEARNED SOCIETIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.



OXFORD :

PUBLISHED BY D. A. TALBOYS.

1829.

822.



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

AMONG the various and profound treatises on history which enrich and adorn the literary stores of Germany, the works of Heeren are distinguished by their extended range of inquiry, as well as by the minute accuracy of their details. To the patient industry of that nation we are indebted for the first production of manuals of history, and those synchronistic tables which have so much facilitated the systematic study of ancient history.

The work now presented to the public comprises the advantages of both these methods of historical instruction, since the geography, chronology, biography, and bibliography of the kingdoms and countries of the ancient world are brought at once before the eye of the reader, and so lucid is the arrangement, that the darkest and most tangled portions of history are seen in a clear and perspicuous light. The man who is already possessed of considerable historical knowledge, and the student commencing his researches, may each be benefited by this Manual; it will enable the one to methodise his collected acquisitions, and guide the other through his untried and intricate course. The estimation in which this work has long been held on the continent, may be gathered from the fact of its having passed through six large editions in German,

two in French, and its having been translated into almost every other European language. It is now presented for the first time to English readers; and as professor Heeren is in constant correspondence with the publishers, and supplies them with his latest alterations and corrections, the translator confidently hopes, that the utility of the Manual will be not less extensively recognised in this country. He is encouraged in these hopes by the favourable reception given to the History of Greece, now so generally used in this university. If an equal favour is shown to the present work, the translator will feel emboldened to follow up his success by the publication of another elaborate work of the same author, the Historical Manual of the Political System of the States of Europe, and of their Colonies from the discovery of the Indies.

OXFORD, Michaelmas term, 1829.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

IN adding to the number of Manuals on Ancient History already published, I believe myself bound to give an account of the plan on which the present has been executed.

It was at first designed to be used in my public lectures, and from them it has grown up to what it now is. In them I did not believe it necessary to state all we know or think we know of ancient history. Many facts highly interesting to the learned historian are not adapted for public lectures. It is therefore my great object to make choice of such incidents as ought to be known by my pupils in order for the effectual prosecution of their historical studies. I have not therefore extended my labours so far as to give an historical notice of every nation, but have limited myself to those most remarkable for their general civilization and political eminence.

The objects to which I have particularly directed my attention are, the formation of states, the changes in their constitution, the routes by which commerce was carried on, the share which the nations respectively took therein, and, as immediately connected therewith, their extension by means of colonies.

The favourable reception which my larger work, executed after a different plan, upon these subjects, has met with, would lead me to hope for a like indulgence for this new attempt, even if the spirit of the age did not call with so loud a voice upon every historian to direct his chief attention to these subjects. And for this reason I could not rest satisfied with a mere detail of isolated facts, but have made it my study to follow the course of events, linking them into one connected chain; so as to represent them in a condensed form by continually and carefully forcing together the main circumstances which cooperated to the development of the whole.

Without this, history in general would be but a lifeless study, more especially that of republics, which so abounded in ancient times, and whose constitution being made up of political parties, everywhere present the most difficult problems for the historian's solution. Of all the larger divisions of my work, the arrangement of the Greek history I have found most troublesome, on account of the great number of little states into which it is divided. Historians, indeed, lighten this labour by confining themselves merely to Athens and Sparta; but by so doing they give us a very imperfect knowledge of the subject. I have endeavoured to surmount the difficulty by throwing the account of the small states and their colonies into the second period; by which means I have been able in the third and most important portion, in which all depends upon the principal states, to carry on my history as a whole without interruption. In case others, who

wish to make this Manual the groundwork of their lectures, should dislike this arrangement, they may very easily tack these notices on to the introductory geographical survey; a plan I very often adopt in my own lectures. Upon the arrangement of the other parts, I am not aware of the necessity of making any observations. The sources whence I have drawn my materials are specified in every section. Particular references do not come within my plan; and if I have referred several times in the first two sections to my larger work, it is only on particular points, explanations of which may be sought for in vain elsewhere.

Some knowledge of ancient geography and the use of maps*, if it have not been previously acquired by the student, should, I am convinced, always be connected with lectures on ancient history. That this need extend to no detailed explanations of ancient geography, but that it should be restricted to what is merely useful in the study of history, I have observed in the body of my work. The geographical chapters interspersed therein having been written with this intent, will, I hope, be judged of accordingly. I have taken care to arrange them so as to include the whole of the ancient world; it depends, therefore, only upon the teacher to form a more or less extensive course upon them.

With regard to chronology, I have followed

* I use D'Anville. [The Eton Comparative Atlas is beautiful, convenient, and correct. The same may be said of Dr. Butler's Ancient Atlas. Both have the advantage of an excellent index, in which the modern names and the longitude and latitude of places are given. Tr.]

throughout the uniform plan of computing time from and previous to the birth of Christ. By preferring this method, so convenient and certain, to the inconvenient and uncertain one of reckoning from the year of the world, I hope I have deserved the thanks of my readers. I relinquish, on the other hand, all claim to merit on the score of having more accurately defined the chronology of separate facts before the time of Cyrus. I have, on the contrary, in this part of my labour, often stated round numbers, where, in many modern publications, precise dates may be found. Exact determinations of time are only necessary, in my opinion, where a continuous development of circumstances takes place; not where unconnected facts are recorded.

The transactions of our own times have thrown a light upon ancient history, and given it an interest which it could not formerly possess. A knowledge of history, if not the only, is at least the most certain means of obtaining a clear and unprejudiced view of the great drama now performing around us. All direct comparisons, notwithstanding the many opportunities which have tempted me, I considered as foreign to my plan; nevertheless, if in some chapters of my work, particularly in the history of the Roman republic, there may seem to be any reference to the transactions of the ten years during which this work has been published, I do not think it necessary to offer any excuse for so doing. Of what use is the study of history if it does not make us wiser and better? unless the knowledge of the past teach us to judge more correctly of the present?

PREFACE.

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Should I have contributed in any measure towards this, and should I be so fortunate as to lead the mind of my young friends to a deeper study of a science which can only in this way reward its admirers, I shall esteem it the most delightful recompense my labour can receive.

GOETTINGEN, Sept. 23, 1799.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH EDITIONS.

THE call for a second edition of my Manual imposes upon me an obligation to supply, by my utmost exertion, the deficiencies of my former work. Corrections have been carefully made, and many parts completely rewritten. A select list of books treating on the respective departments of my subject is now first added; the former edition containing only references to the sources whence my facts were deduced. This, I trust, will be considered an essential service to the friends of historical science, more especially to the young, for whom and not for the learned these additions have been made. Their use in this place is particularly obvious, where it is in everyone's power to procure the books referred

to^b. The short criticisms subjoined, where it seemed necessary, will serve as guides for their use. In the interior division of the work but little has been changed, while the exterior has been improved by the use of different types, by more accurate running titles, and by ranging the dates in the margin. By the latter method the increase in the number of pages is inconsiderable, notwithstanding the numerous additions which have been made. In its arrangement, this work is the same as my *Manual of the History of the European States and their Colonies*. Beyond this, however, these works have no relation to each other, but have rather been executed upon quite different principles: the present as a history of the *separate* states of the ancient world, and the other as a universal history of modern states and their colonies, as forming altogether one system. Each, however, forms a complete work in itself, and it is by no means my intention to fill up the gulf which time has placed between them.

I regret that the acute researches of Mr. Volney, upon the chronology of Herodotus before the time of Cyrus, came too late into my hands to be made use of in its proper place in my second edition. In the third this has been done. I lay claim, at the same time, to the thanks of the reader for giving in an Appendix, the results of these researches, together with references to the passages by which they are proved; leaving out, however, all extraneous

^b [The author alludes to the public library at Goettingen. Ta.]

matter, and everything that cannot be proved by the positive assertions of the father of history.

I cannot close this preface without again recurring to the advantage of the mode now becoming more and more general, of computing time in ancient history according to the number of years before Christ. The fact of its being certain and convenient has often been remarked; but besides this it possesses the great advantage of giving us at once a clear and precise notion of the interval that separates us from the incidents recorded; which by no other era, whether the year of the world, olympiads, year of Rome, etc. is possible. And yet this peculiar advantage, so great in the eyes of the teacher, has not, so far as I know, been hitherto the subject of remark. Even for the science of history itself, the advantage is much greater than might be at first supposed. Should an inquirer arise who would closely examine all ancient history according to this era—setting out from the generally received year of the birth of Christ as from a fixed point, to which the labours of Mr. Volney are a good beginning—the whole science would acquire thereby a firmer consistency. For by this method all dates would not appear equally certain and equally uncertain, as they do in the eras which compute from the year of the world; but it would be shown what is chronologically certain, what only probable, and what completely uncertain, according as we should recede from the clearer into the more obscure regions of history. The old manner of reckoning from the year of the world, in which congruity was impossible, be-

cause there was no agreement upon the point to start from, would certainly be thrown aside; but what harm will there be in that, if something better and more certain occupies its place?

In the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth editions, though the increase in the number of pages is small, yet all those additions and corrections which I deemed necessary, and which the progress of knowledge and discovery, as in the case of Egypt and other countries, enabled me to effect, have been most carefully and fully made. The importance of these will be best seen by comparison^c.

Goettingen, 1828.

^c [As facility of reference in a work of this kind is of primary importance, marginal notes have been added, and a † placed before every work quoted in the original German. TR.]

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MANUAL

OF

ANCIENT HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE sources of ancient history are ranged under two heads, the ancient writers, and the monuments still extant. The various writers will be mentioned in their proper places, at the different divisions of this work: a survey of the ancient monuments, so far forth as they are sources for history, will be found in:

OBERLIN, *Orbis antiqui monumentis suis illustrati primæ li-
acæ*. Argentorati, 1790. To speak the truth, extremely defective, now that so many new discoveries have been made.

II. GENERAL TREATISES ON ANCIENT HISTORY.

1. *The more voluminous works* on the subject. These may be divided in two classes: *a*. Ancient portions of the treatises on universal history; *b*. Works especially set apart for ancient history.

a. To the first class belong:

The Universal History, ancient and modern; with maps and additions. Lond. 1736, 26 vols. folio. Reprinted in 8vo. in 67 vols. and again in 60 vols. with omissions and additions.

This work, compiled by a society of British scholars, has been translated into German, and illustrated with remarks, by SIEGM. JAC. BAUMGARTEN. Halle, 1746, 4to. The Germans frequently designate it by the name of the Halle Universal History of the World: the first eighteen parts comprise the ancient history.

WILL. GUTHRIE, JOHN GRAY, etc. *General History of the World, from the creation to the present time*. London, 1764—1767, 12 vols. 8vo. This work, of no estimation in the original, is rendered valuable and useful by the labours of the German translator, C. G. HEYNE, (Leip. 1766, 8vo.) who has corrected the errors, inserted the dates, and added his own observations.

b. To the second class belong:

ROLLIN, *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Mèdes et des Perses, des Macédoniens, des Grecs*. Paris, 1824, 12 vols. 8vo.; revue par Letronne: the last and best edition. This work, by which the study of ancient

history was exalted to so high a rank in France, still maintains its well-earned reputation. Translated into German by M. MUELLER, 1798, 8 vols. 8vo.: into English, 1768: best edition, 7 vols. 8vo.: frequently reprinted. The above is generally accompanied by the *Histoire Romaine* of the same author^a.

JAC. BEN. BOSSUET, *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*. Paris, 1680, 3 vols. Frequently reprinted, being reckoned by the French among their classics. German translation, with illustrative essays by CRAMER. Leipzig, 1740.

English translation, by RICH. SPENCER. London, 1730, 8vo.

MILLOT, *Elémens de l'Histoire Générale*. Paris, 1772, sq. Translated into German by CHRISTIANI. Leipzig, 1777, 9 vols. 8vo.: into English, 1778: 2 vols. 8vo.: and again, an improved edition, with additions. Edinb. 1823, 6 vols. 8vo. The first two parts contain the ancient history.

† JOH. MATTH. SCHROECKH, *General History of the World*, for the use of children. Leipzig, 1779, sq. 6 vols.

† J. G. EICHHORN, *History of the Ancient World*, 1799, third edition, 1817. (First part of the History of the World.)

† DAN. G. J. HUEBLER, *Brief of the General History of the Nations of Antiquity, from the birth of states to the end of the Roman commonwealth*. Freyberg, 1798—1802. Five parts; and the continuation: *History of the Romans under the Emperors, and of the contemporary Nations, until the great migration*. 1803; three parts. A work extremely useful, by the advantage taken of every assistance at hand.

† H. LUDEN, *General History of Nations*. 1814; three parts.

† L. VON DRESCH, *General Political History*. 1815; three parts. In each of the above works the first part contains the ancient history, exhibiting the more modern views of the subject^b.

† F. VON RAUMER, *Lectures on Ancient History*, parts 1. 2. Berlin, 1821.

Works furnishing illustrations of the civility, government, and commerce of early nations, although not especial treatises on ancient history, are nevertheless most intimately connected with the subject. Among these may be mentioned:

^a See below, book v. first period, *Sources*.

^b The following is added, as well deserving the attention of the English student: RALEGH'S (SIR WALTER) *History of the World, Part I. extending to the end of the Macedonian Empire; with his Life and Trial, by Mr. Oldys*. Lond. 1736, 2 vols. folio. At present the best edition; but a new and improved one, in 8vo. is now printing at the Clarendon press, and will probably be published before the present work. *Translator*.

GOGUET, *De l'Origine des Lois, des Arts, et des Sciences, et de leurs progrès chez les anciens peuples*; nouv. édit. Paris, 1778. Translated by Dr. DUNN and Mr. SPEERMAN. Edinb. 1761—1775, 3 vols. 8vo.

†A. H. L. HEEREN, *Ideas on the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the most eminent Nations in the Ancient World*. Third edition, with many additions. Gottingen, 1815, 8vo.; the third part, 1821. Fourth edition. Gottingen, 1824. This edition, the last, contains many improvements and additions, suggested by the great discoveries of modern travellers; 1st vol. Persians, Phœnicians, Babylonians, Scythians, Indians; 2nd vol. Carthaginians, Egyptians; 3rd vol. Greeks.

2. *Manuals*, or epitomes.

The Germans alone are entitled to the merit of having produced manuals of ancient history, all of them useful, some excellent, in their kind: they are a result of the progress made in this science at the universities.

†J. CHR. GATTERER, *Attempt at an Universal History of the World to the discovery of America*. Gottingen, 1792. He who possesses this, the last and most mature fruit of Gatterer's studies, may dispense with the earlier manuals published by that author.

†CHR. DAN. BECK, *Summary Introduction to the Knowledge of the Universal History of the World and of Nature*. Leipzig, 1798. The first part connected with our subject extends to A. D. 843. This volume is enriched with such a copious critical bibliography, that it may supply the place of an especial work on the subject.

†J. A. REMER, *Manual of the more Ancient History, from the creation of the world until the great migration*. Fourth edition. Brunswick, 1802.

†J. M. SCHROECKH, *Manual of Universal History*. 1774: latest edition, 1795.

†G. S. BREDOW, *Manual of Ancient History, with a sketch of the chronology of the ancients*. Altona, 1799, 8vo. Translated into English. Lond. 1828, 12mo.

3. *Helps*.

Among the helps to the study of ancient history, the first rank is justly given to the synchronistic tables.

†D. G. J. HUEBLER, *Synchronistic Tables of the History of Nations*; arranged principally according to GATTERER's *History of the World*. In two numbers. Second edition. 1799 and 1804.

Object of
history.

1. **POLITICAL HISTORY** has for its object to describe the fate of states, considered in respect to their relations, both internal and external. In respect to internal relations and circumstances, one of its main branches is the *history of governments*: in respect to external relations and circumstances, it comprises not only the history of wars, but likewise that of the connexions of peaceful intercourse which have existed between different states.

Definition of the relation which universal history (or general history of the human race) bears to political history, or that of states: the latter a division of the former. Difference between political history, and that of civilization (or history of human nature:) the latter inquires into the history of man, as man, without any farther reference to political circumstances.

Division
into three
parts:

first, to
A. D. 500,

second, to
A. D. 1500,

third, to
our own
times.

2. General political history is usually distinguished into three parts: *ancient, middle, and modern*. The first extends to the fall of the Roman empire in the west, that is to say, to about the end of the fifth century of the christian era; the second extends to the discovery of America, and of a passage by sea to the East Indies, that is to say, to the end of the fifteenth century; the third extends from the commencement of the sixteenth century to our own day.

The propriety of the above division shown by the advantage of the epochs being naturally determined by events. Why, in that respect, would the division of history into two parts, before and after the birth of Christ, be inappropriate?

Commence-
ment of
political
history.

3. From the definition just given, it follows, that political history commences at that point in the range of time where states first make their appearance. Whatever is known, therefore, of the previous times in which our race existed:

whatever concerning that period is gathered from the traditions of individual men or tribes, in respect to their migrations, their affinities, their inventions, belongs not to political history, but must be referred to the general history of nations.

Every body knows that abundant documents relating to the earliest fortunes of the human race have been preserved in the sacred writings of the Hebrews: from these materials was compiled what is known by the name of an *Historia Antediluviana*, frequently heretofore constituting a separate division in history.

What has been said above accounts satisfactorily for the omission of this portion of history in the work before the reader; although none can deny the high importance of such traditions in the framing of the earliest history of the origin, extension, and civilization of the human race.

4. The sources of history may be generally ^{Sources of history:} ranged under two heads; *oral traditions*, and *written documents* of all kinds. The history of every nation usually commences in oral tradition; and that remains the only source, so long as the art of writing is either unknown, or but little practised, among the people.

5. Under the name of *traditional history* or *mythology*, ^{mythology,} is comprehended the whole collection of oral traditions existing in any country: such a traditional history or mythology we consequently meet with in every nation, at the earliest stage of its existence. This mythology, however, by no means consists solely in distinct historic documents; it embraces every branch of information and knowledge which, to a nation in its first infancy, appear of such importance, as to be worthy of being preserved and handed down to posterity.

Hence the mythology of a people is invariably composed of elements greatly dissimilar in nature; it preserves the memory not only of historic facts, various in kind, but likewise that of

the pervading ideas of the people with respect to the deities and their worship; that of the results from observation and experience in astronomy, in morals, in arts. These memorials are usually presented under the mask of an historical narrative, because man, as yet unpractised in abstract thinking, necessarily represents every thing to his mind under a tangible form. Partial and vain, therefore, on the one hand, are the endeavours of such as fancy they can discover in the mythology of any people a consistent whole, or a scientific system of any kind whatever: difficult, on the other hand, is it to draw the line between *what*, in mythology, does and what does not, belong to pure *history*. The employment of mythology for the purposes of history requires, therefore, an acute spirit of criticism, and an accurate knowledge of antiquity.

These correct ideas respecting mythology,—the key to the whole of earlier antiquity,—were first set forth and promulgated by Heyne, in his works upon Virgil and other poets, in his edition of Apollodorus, and in various essays published in the Transactions of the Gottingen Scientific Society. To them principally are the Germans indebted for the rapidity with which they have outstripped other nations in obtaining a clear insight into the science of antiquity.

poetry.

6. The place of writing is, among such nations, generally supplied, in some measure, by poetry; which being in its origin nothing more than imagery expressed in figurative language, must spontaneously arise among men, as yet wont to represent every thing to their minds under the form of images. Hence the poetry of every nation, still in infancy, has, and can have, nothing else for its object than the mythology; and, from the difference which exists in the nature of the ingredients composing that mythology, spring, at this early period, the various kinds of poetry, the lyric, the didactic, the epic. The last of these, inasmuch as it contains the historic songs and the epopee, claims the especial attention of the historian.

The mythi were in later times frequently collected and indited

INTRODUCTION.

7

from the works of poets, by grammarians, such as Apollodorus, etc. This circumstance, however, evidently can have had no effect on their original character.

7. The second source for history, incomparably ^{written documents,} more copious and important than the first, is that furnished by written monuments of every kind. Following the comparative dates at which they were adopted, these monuments may be divided into three classes; 1st. Inscriptions on public monuments, to which head are referred the coins of later times; 2nd. Chronological enumeration of events, under the form of annals and chronicles; 3rd. Distinct philosophical works on history.

8. The most ancient written memorials, indis- ^{inscrip- tions,} putably, are the inscriptions on public monuments erected to preserve the memory of certain events; whether for that purpose a mere stone was set upright, or even the bare rock itself engraved. As soon as the national taste had obtained, from local circumstances, a decided consistency, and architecture had sprung up and expanded, art shaped these monuments into columns, obelisks, pyramids. The very object proposed in their erection—the commemoration of certain events—must necessarily have led to the practice of carving on them inscriptions, in which those facts were recorded. Of such a nature are, no doubt, the oldest monuments, and more particularly those in Egypt: the use of this kind of memorial continued to be much more frequent among the later nations, the Greeks and Romans especially, than it is among the moderns; yet of the vast quantity of inscriptions preserved to this day, but a compara-

tively small number is, in an historical point of view, of any importance.

The characters used on these monuments were either pictorial (hieroglyphics; see below under the head of Egypt,) or alphabetical. The discovery and communication of alphabetical writing are commonly ascribed to the Phœnicians; although, if we may judge by the shape of the arrow-headed character, the invention was made, independently of them, in the interior of Asia.

The general collections of inscriptions are:

LUD. ANT. MURATORI, *Novus Thesaurus veterum Inscriptionum*. Mediolani, 1739, sq. 4 vols. fol. Together with SER. DONATI, *Supplementa*. Luccæ, 1764. JAN. GRUTERI, *Inscriptiones antiquæ totius orbis Romani*, cura J. G. GRÆVII. Amstel. 1707, 2 vols. fol.

C. A. BOEKHIUS, *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, auctoritate et impensis Academiæ literarum Borussicæ*, vol. 1. 1827, folio.

The most important for ancient history are the Parian or Oxford Inscriptions, *Marmora Oroniensia, Arundeliana*, edited by SELDEN, 1629; by PRIDEAUX, 1676. The best edition is by RICH. CHANDLER, Oxf. 1763, fol. A useful and portable edition has been published by †FR. CH. WAGNER, *The Parian Chronicle: the Greek text, with German translation and illustrations*. Gottingen, 1790, 8vo.

coins,

9. Coins likewise may be regarded as one of the sources of ancient history, inasmuch as they afford us information, especially with respect to genealogy and chronology; by the assistance of which, events known from other authorities may be better arranged and coordinated. The importance of coins, therefore, becomes most sensible in those portions of history where our information, in consequence of the loss of the works of the original historians, is reduced to a few insulated facts and fragments.

EX. SPANHEMII, *Dissertatio de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum*. Londini, 1707 et 1709, 2 vols. fol. The grand work, however, on the whole numismatic science of antiquity is now:

ECKHEL, *De Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*. Viennæ, 1792—1798, 8 vols. 4to. And the epitome :

† ECKHEL, *Brief Elements of Ancient Numismatics*. Vienna, 1707, 8vo. Valuable assistance may be derived from :

J. C. RASCHE, *Lexicon Universæ Re Nummarie Veterum*. 1785, sq. 5 vols. 8vo.

10. The second main division of written monu- annals, ments consists in chronicles or annals. These presuppose the invention of an alphabet, and the adoption of some materials for writing upon : they are, therefore, of a later date than mere inscriptions. They occur, nevertheless, in the earlier periods of nations. It is generally from such annals, indited by public authority, (state chronicles,) that the subsequent historians have drawn materials for their works. In many nations, and in nearly all those of the east, history has not, even to this day, advanced beyond the composition of such annals.

11. The third main division of historic writings regular is made up of the works on philosophic history : histories. they are distinguished from mere annals by their containing not only a chronological narration of events, but also a developement of the concatenation of those events.

None but a few nations of modern times, and, among the ancients, none that we know of, but the Greeks and Romans, have been acquainted with this sort of history : a fact which may be attributed,—1st. To the government.—The more complete the subjection in which every thing is placed to the will and caprice of one or more individuals, the more evanescent is the rational connexion between events. Hence philosophical history thrives best under free governments ; and does not so much even as exist under mere despotic constitutions. 2nd. To the degree of civilization which the nation may have obtained : for the observing and unravelling of the political connexion of events presupposes a considerable progress in philosophical attainments.

Chronology
and Geo-
graphy.

12. As all events are determined by the place and time in which they occurred, it follows that geography and chronology are indispensable sciences, auxiliary to the study of all history, but more especially the ancient. Those sciences, however, are not, for this purpose, to be considered in their fullest extent and minutest details, but only so far as they may be of use towards arranging facts according to time and place. A fixed mode of computing time is therefore, in ancient history, not less necessary than a continuous geographical description of the countries which were the theatres of the principal events.

Eras.

13. No universally-adopted mode of computing time existed in antiquity; each nation, each state, had its own era: yet, in the explication of ancient history, there is an evident necessity that some common era should be adopted, by which a synchronistic view of the various events may be obtained. For this purpose, the years may be computed either from the creation of the world, or before and after Christ. The latter method has the advantage not only of greater certainty, but also of greater convenience.

Of the various modes of computing time, the best known are those of the Greeks and the Romans; the former by olympiads, the latter by the years elapsed from the foundation of Rome. The era of the olympiads commences at B. C. 776; that of the foundation of Rome commences at B. C. 753, according to Varro, at B. C. 752, according to Cato.—The era of the Seleucidæ, in the Syrian empire, commences with B. C. 312.—Various other eras, such as that of Nabonnassar, commencing with B. C. 747, are founded on observations preserved by Ptolemy, and made known by SCALIGER, in his *Doctrina Temporum*.

Chronology constitutes a separate science: the best introduction to which will be found in:

†J. C. GATTERER, *Epitome of Chronology*. Gottingen, 1777. A most excellent criticism on the ancient eras has lately been communicated to the public by :

†L. IDELER, *Historic Researches into the Astronomical Observations of the Ancients*. Berlin, 1806.

†D. H. HEGEWISCH, *Introduction to Historical Chronology* ; 1811. A very useful and portable work^a.

14. In ancient geography, the line must be carefully drawn between what is fabulous and what is true. In respect to true geography, as an auxiliary science to history, all that can be expected is some general information respecting the nature and peculiarities of the countries, respecting their political divisions, and finally, respecting the principal cities:—a long list of the names of places would be quite superfluous.

Geography, mythological and true.

Fabulous geography constitutes a part of the mythology of every nation, and therefore is in each different, since the ideas formed by every early nation respecting the form and nature of the earth are peculiar to itself. True geography arises gradually as civilization increases, and the sphere of ideas extends.—Necessity of handling geography historically, on account of the manifold changes to which the division and the face of the countries of the ancient world have been at various periods subjected.

CHRISTOPH. CELLARI *Notitia Orbis Antiqui*. Lips. 1701—1706, 2 vols. 4to. *cum observat.* J. C. SCHWARZII. Lips. 1771, et iterum 1773. This work was for a long time the only, and is still an indispensable, treatise on ancient geography.

†H. MANNERT, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*. Nuremberg, 1788—1802. To complete this work, deserving the

^a To these the English student will surely add the laborious work of Dr. Hales :

HALES (WILLM.) *New Analysis of Chronology, explaining the History and Antiquities of the primitive Nations of the World, etc.* Lond. 1809-12. 4 vols. 4to.

BLAIR'S *Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the present Time*. Lond. 1803, folio.

And for the brilliant period of Greece, the satisfactory volume :

H. F. CLYNTON'S *Fasti Hellenici*. *The civil and literary Chronology of Greece, from the fifty-fifth to the hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad*. Second edition, with additions. Oxford, 1827, 4to. Translator.

name of classical, by the historical and critical learning it exhibits, Greece, Italy, and Africa, are still wanting.

† F. A. UKERT, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans, from the earliest periods to the time of Ptolemy*: first part, first division, contains the historical; the second contains the mathematical sections. Weimar, 1816; accompanied with maps.

GOSSELIN, *Géographie des Grecs analysée*. Paris, 1790, 4to. A development of the system of mathematical geography among the Greeks. Partly continued in

GOSSELIN, *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*. Paris, an. vi. vol. 1—4.

J. RENNEL, *Geographical System of Herodotus*. Lond. 1800, 4to. These last two works are epitomized and accompanied with observations in:

† G. G. BREDOW, *Researches into various Branches of Ancient History, Geography, and Chronology*, 1800.

We are indebted to d'Anville for the best charts of ancient geography: *Atlas Orbis antiqui*, twelve leaves, fol.^b.

Divisions of
the Manual.

15. Ancient history admits of being treated either ethnographically (that is to say, according to separate nations and states,) or synchronistically, (that is to say, according to certain general epochs.) Each of these methods has its advantages and its disadvantages; both, however, may be, in some measure, combined into a system which presents peculiar conveniencies for our purpose. We shall accordingly adopt the following divisions:

FIRST BOOK.—History of the ancient Asiatic and African states and kingdoms anterior to Cyrus, or to the rise of the Persian monarchy, about the year B. C. 560: comprising little more than insulated fragments.

^b To these works, the following may be added for the benefit of the English student:

BUTLER'S (DR. SAM.) *Sketch of Ancient and Modern Geography*. Seventh edition, 8vo. Also his *Atlas of Ancient Geography*, consisting of twenty-one coloured maps, with a complete accentuated index. 8vo. 12s.

SECOND BOOK.—History of the Persian monarchy, from B. C. 560 to 330.

THIRD BOOK.—History of the Grecian states, both within and without Greece, until Alexander, or B. C. 336.

FOURTH BOOK.—History of the Macedonian monarchy, and of the kingdoms which arose out of its division, until they merged into the Roman empire.

FIFTH BOOK.—History of the Roman state, both as a commonwealth and as a monarchy, until its fall in the west, A. D. 476.

MANUAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

THE FIRST BOOK.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS OF THE MORE ANCIENT ASIATIC
AND AFRICAN KINGDOMS AND STATES, PREVIOUS TO
CYRUS, OR THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN MONARCHY.

I.—ASIATIC NATIONS.

General Geographical Outline of Asia.

1. **EXTENT** and situation of that quarter of the **ASIA.**
globe.—Asia, in its circumference, is the largest, Dimensions
in its situation, the most favoured by nature, of
the quarters of the globe. Its superficial contents
amount to 11,200,000 square g. miles; whereas
those of Africa do not exceed 4,780,000; while
those of Europe are not more than 2,560,000. As
to situation, it comprises the greatest portion of
the northern temperate zone.

Comparison, in this point of view, with the other quarters of
the globe, principally Africa.—Advantages over the latter, in
consequence of the convenience of its indented shores—of its sur-
rounding fruitful islands—of its deep bays and copious streams—
the few sandy deserts in its interior.

ASIA.
Natural
features.

2. Natural features, and consequent division of the land, according to the course of the larger mountain ranges and of the principal streams.

Two principal mountain-ranges from the west towards the east ; in the north, the Altai, (as yet nameless in antiquity :) in the south, Taurus.—Branches of both, the Caucasus extending between the Black and the Caspian seas : Imaus extending along the golden desert, (or that of Cobi :) the Paropamisus, on the north of India ; the Ural (nameless in antiquity.)—Of the rivers remarkable in ancient history, there are four flowing from north to south, namely, the Euphrates and Tigris, which fall into the Persian gulf ; the Indus and Ganges, which fall into the Indian sea : two which hold their course from east to west, and disembogue in the Caspian sea, (but now in lake Ural,) namely, the Oxus (or Jihon) and the Jaxartes (or Sirr.)

Divisions :

3. Hence we deduce the division of the region into Northern Asia, that is to say, the countries north of Altai ; Central Asia, or the countries between the Altai and Taurus ; Southern Asia, or the lands south of Taurus.

Northern
Asia,

4. Northern Asia, between the 76th and 50th parallels of north latitude, (Asiatic Russia and Siberia,) almost, though not entirely, unknown in antiquity.—Accounts obscure, but partly true, respecting it, to be found in Herodotus, the father of history.

Central
Asia,

5. Central Asia, the regions extending between the 50th and 40th degrees of north latitude, Scythia and Sarmatia Asiatica, (Great Tartary and Mongol ;) for the most part an unbounded, bare table land, devoid of arable fields or forests ; and consequently a mere country of pasture.—The inhabitants pastors, (nomads,) without cities or determined dwellings ; recognising no other political association than patriarchal government.

Peculiarity of the mode of life and character among the nomad ASIA. races; powerful influence which they have had, as conquerors, on political history.—Whether we have a right to expect that the civilization of the human race should continue for ever to advance, when we consider that one half perhaps of that race has from time immemorial remained, and from its physical situation must for ever remain, in the nomad state.

6. Southern Asia, or the regions from the 40th ^{Southern Asia.} degree of north latitude to about the equator.—Its features directly opposite to those of central Asia. Advantages of the soil and climate for agriculture; its abundance in the most costly and varied productions, compared with the other countries of the globe. Hence in this quarter, 1st. The adoption of settled habitations and political associations, even in the earliest times. 2nd. The chief seat of trade, from the most remote period until the discovery of America.

Ideas upon the rise of political associations.—Whether, according to the general opinion, they have been produced *solely* by agriculture and the possession of land; or, whether religion, that is to say, the common worship of one divinity as the national god, (*communis sacra*,) was not the main bond which united the earliest states of antiquity?—Explanation of the phenomenon that, in the very first states of the world, the priesthood is generally observed to be a ruling caste.—Ideas on early trade, particularly that with the east; before it was changed, by the discovery of America and the new passage to India, from land trade to sea trade.—Observations upon ancient roads of traffic athwart Asia.—The seats of commerce in the interior pointed out by nature upon the large rivers; on the Oxus, Bactra and Maracanda, (Samarcand;) on the Euphrates and Tigris, Babylon.—Seats of trade pointed out by nature on the seashores, the western coast of Asia Minor and Phœnicia,—line of Grecian and Phœnician factories.

7. Division of southern Asia. 1st. South-western Asia, from the Mediterranean to the Indus; 2nd. South-eastern Asia, from the Indus to the eastern ocean.

ASIA. A. South-western Asia divides again into the countries—1st. Within the Euphrates—2nd. Between the Euphrates and Tigris—3rd. Between the Tigris and the Indus.

1. *Countries within the Euphrates.*

Asia
Minor.

* The peninsula of Asia Minor (Natolia.) Principal rivers: the Halys and Sangarius. Countries: three towards the west, Mysia, Lydia, Caria. Along the shore, the Greek seaports of Phocæa, Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, Halicarnassus, etc. Inland, the cities of Sardes in Lydia, of Pergamus in Mysia.

Three towards the south, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus.

Three towards the north, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus; with the Greek ports of Heraclea, Amisus, and Sinope. Two inland, Phrygia, together with Galatia and the capital cities of Gordium and Celænæ; Cappadocia, with the city of Mazaca.

Islands.

* Islands along the coast of Asia Minor: Lesbos, with the city of Mitylene; Chios, Samos, Cos, Rhodes, with the capitals of the same names.

Syria.

* Syria, together with Phœnicia and Palæstine. 1st. Syria, properly so called. Cities, Damascus, Emessa, Heliopolis, (Balbeck.) In the de-

Phœnicia.

sert, Palmyra. 2nd. Phœnicia, a mountainous tract extending along the shore. Mountains: Libanus and Antilibanus. Cities: Tyre, in an island opposite the ancient Tyre, situate upon the mainland; Sidon, Byblus, Berytus, Tripolis,

Palæstine.

Aradus. 3rd. Palæstine. Mountains: Carmel, Tabor. River: Jordan, which discharges its waters into the Dead sea. Division of Palæstine,

first, according to the 12 tribes; afterward, into ASIA. the provinces of Judæa, capital Jerusalem: of Samaria; cities, Samaria, Sichem: and of Galilæa.

^d Peninsula of Arabia, abounding in vast sandy ^{Arabia.} deserts, and almost wholly occupied by nomad races. Its southern and eastern coasts make it, nevertheless, a most important seat of trade. In the north, Arabia Petræa, so called from the town of Petra. Inland, Arabia Deserta. In the south, Arabia Felix; rich by its own productions, being the land of almost all perfumes, particularly incense: rich likewise as being the ancient staple for Indian goods. Cities: Mariaba, Adem, etc. In the east, the trading town of Gerra, and the islands lying off the shore, Tylos and Aradus, (Bahhreïn islands,) likewise marts both for Arabian and Indian commodities, particularly for cinnamon from Taprobane (Ceylon.)

2. *Countries between the Euphrates and Tigris.*

* Mesopotamia; in the interior a parched table ^{Mesopotamia.} land, solely occupied by nomad hordes. Cities on the Euphrates: Thapsacus, Circesium, Cunaxa; in the north, Zoba or Nisibis.

† Armenia, north of the foregoing. ^{Armenia.} Encumbered with mountains; long without any cities, but afterwards Tigranocerta. Rivers: Cyrus and Araxes, which fall into the Caspian; and the Phasis, which discharges itself into the Black sea.

° Babylonia, the southern part of Mesopotamia, ^{Babylonia.} from which it is separated by the Medic wall. A level plain, remarkable for the fatness of its soil; formerly, by skilful culture, the judicious excavation of canals and lakes, and the erection of dams,

ASIA. the most fruitful, and, by its situation, the most wealthy staple of inner Asia. Cities: Babylon on the Euphrates, Borsippa.

Whether the account given by Herodotus, as an eyewitness, of the size and splendour of Babylon, is not exaggerated?—Manner in which the great Asiatic cities arose out of the head-quarters of the nomad hordes of conquerors.

3. *Countries between the Tigris and the Indus.*

Assyria. ^a Assyria, or the province of Adiabene; a table land. Cities: Nineveh, (Ninus,) Arbela.

The name of Assyria is likewise frequently taken by the Greeks in a wider acceptation, as comprising both Mesopotamia and Babylonia; it is sometimes even confounded with Syria.

Susiana. ^b Susiana, a fruitful tract, with the city of Susa, on the river Choaspes, or Eulæus (Ulai,) one of the royal residences of the Persian monarchs.

Persia. ^c Persis, rugged and mountainous towards the north; level and fruitful in the centre; sandy towards the south. Rivers: the Cyrus and Araxes. Cities: Persepolis or Pasargada, the national palace and cemetery of the kings of Persia.

The name of Persis was, in ancient as well as in modern geography, taken in a more extensive sense, as comprising all the countries between the Tigris and Indus, with the exception of Assyria. In this last sense, it contains three countries towards the south—Persis, properly so called; Carmania, Gedrosia: three central countries—Media, Aria, Arachosia: and three countries towards the north—Parthia and Hyrcania, Bactria, Sogdiana.

Carmania. ^d Carmania, an extensive country, for the most part desert, ranging along the Persian gulf and Indian sea. Cities: Carmana, Harmozia.

Gedrosia. ^e Gedrosia, the maritime tract between Carmania and India; washed by the Indian sea. A mere sandy desert; towards the north, mountainous. Town, Pura.

^f Media, above Persis; an extensive and very fruitful country; mountainous towards the north. ASIA.
Media.
Rivers: Araxes, Cyrus, and Mardus. Cities: Ecbatana, Rages. The northern quarter was likewise known by the name of Atropatene (Aderbeitzan,) or Lesser Media.

^e Aria, a smooth table land, with a lake and river, Arius: and one city, Aria or Artacoana.

^b Arachosia; a rich and fruitful country on the frontiers of India; bounded towards the north by the range of Paropamisus. Cities: Arachotus and Prophthasia. The neighbouring highlands, occupied by a numerous population, (now Cabul and Kandahar,) although they virtually belong to India, are often regarded as forming part of Persia, in consequence of their being subject to the Persian dominion. They are known under the name of Paropamisus.

ⁱ Parthia and Hyrcania, rugged, mountainous districts to the north of Media; but abounding in grand and fertile vales. Previously to the supremacy of Persia, and during its continuance, little known and little valued; and without any cities. It was at a period considerably later that the inhabitants of Parthia took the rank of a ruling nation in the world.

^k Bactria, the country on the south bank of the Oxus; rich in natural productions, and one of the most ancient marts of Asia. River: Oxus. Cities: Bactra and Zariaspa.

Bactria lies on the frontiers of India, Little Thibet, Bukharia, (the north India of Herodotus and Ctesias,) and the desert of Cobi, (Herodotus's golden desert:) the road to China runs athwart this country. Nature herself, by the geographical situation of Bactria, seems to have pointed out that quarter for the first en-

A. trepot of the wares of south-eastern Asia; and the more we study history, the more we are convinced that Bactria, like Babylon, must have been one of the earliest places of intercourse between nations, and, consequently, one of those in which civilization took its rise.

iana. ¹ Sogdiana, the territory between the upper Oxus and upper Jaxartes; which latter divides it from central Asia, (part of Great Bukharia.) It has peculiarities and advantages similar to those of the neighbouring country of Bactria. Capital, Maracanda (Samarcand.)

B. South-eastern Asia, or Asia beyond the Indus, does not become remarkable in history until a later period¹.

Preliminary and General Observations upon the History and Constitution of the great Asiatic Empires.

Magnitude
of the em-
pires in
Asia.

1. In ancient times, as in the modern, Asia contained within itself empires of immeasurable extent; and by that circumstance, as well as by their constitution, very different from those of civilized Europe. Frequently they changed, but always their form remained the same. There must, therefore, have existed some deep and active causes, which, in these frequent revolutions, continued to operate in repeatedly giving to the kingdoms of Asia the same organization.

Nature of
their revo-
lutions.

2. The great revolutions of Asia, with the exception of that caused by Alexander, were wrought by the numerous and powerful

¹ See Book v. Period iv.

races which occupied a large portion of that continent. Pressed by necessity or circumstances, they forsook their own seats, founded new kingdoms, and extended war and conquest over the fruitful and cultivated lands of southern Asia, until enervated by luxury, the consequence of the change in their mode of life, they were in their turn, and in a similar manner, subjugated. ASIA.

3. This origin, common to all Asiatic kingdoms, accounts for their immense extent, their rapid establishment, and their generally brief duration. Their short existence.

4. The internal organization must, for the same reasons, have been nearly alike in all; and the constant reappearance of despotism is accounted for, partly by the rights of conquest, partly by the large extent of the subdued countries, which necessitated the adoption of satrapal government. Similarity in their constitutions.

5. To this, it must moreover be added, that among all the considerable nations of inner Asia, the paternal government of every household was corrupted by polygamy: where that custom exists, a good political constitution is impossible, fathers being converted into domestic despots; and the foundation of absolute power thus laid even in private life. Effects of polygamy.

To avoid confusion of terms, it is necessary to define what is meant by despotism and a despotic government. In theory, we must admit THREE essentially different kinds of government. 1st. The *despotic*, in which the members of the state are not secured in the possession of their rights as men, (personal freedom and security of property,) nor of their rights as citizens, (active participation in the legislative power.) Such a constitution exists only by force, and can never be lawful. 2nd. The *autocratic*, in which the members of the state are in full possession of their rights as men, but not of their rights as citizens. This govern-

ASIA.

ment, therefore, arises from the union of the legislative and executive powers in the person of the ruler. In form, it is either monarchical or aristocratical (pure monarchy and pure aristocracy.) Such a government may be established by usurpation; but, on the other hand, it may be received by succession, or even adopted by common consent: therefore it may be lawful. 3rd. The *republican*, in which the members of the state are in possession of their rights, both as men and as citizens. This government, therefore, presupposes a separation of the legislative and executive powers; and according to its form, may be either monarchical or aristocratical, (moderate monarchy and moderate aristocracy.)—How far can a pure democracy be called a government, and under which head is it comprised?—Explanation of the despotism in the Asiatic kingdoms, and the attempts made to limit it by religion and religious institutions.

Rise, progress, and fall of nomad empires.

6. General features in the gradual internal developement of all empires formed by nomad conquerors. ^a At first mere occupation of rich territories, and levying of tribute. ^b Hence the constitutions already established among the conquered or tributary nations generally suffered to remain. ^c Gradual progress towards the adopting of a fixed abode and the building of cities, together with the assumption of the customs and civilization of the conquered. ^d Division into provinces, and, as a necessary consequence, the establishment of satrapal government. ^e Insurrections of the satraps, and the internal ruin of the state prepared thereby. ^f And not less so by the influence of the seraglio on the government, and its unavoidable consequences—effeminacy and indolence in the rulers. ^g Hence the fall or total annihilation of the kingdom by some violent blow from without.

*Fragments of the History of the ancient Asiatic Kingdoms
previous to Cyrus.*

Sources, and criticisms on those sources: 1. Jewish writings, particularly the books of Kings, Chronicles, and the Prophets; together with the Mosaic records. 2. Greek writers, Herodotus, Ctesias, and Diodorus: later chroniclers, Syncellus, Eusebius, Ptolemy. 3. Native writer, Berosus. Futility of all endeavours to arrange into one whole the accounts of authors, so entirely different by birth and the times in which they flourished: a task attempted more particularly by the French writers, SEVIN, FRÉRET, and DEBROSSE, in their papers contained in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*

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VOLNEY, *Recherches nouvelles sur l'Histoire ancienne*. 1808—1814: very important and authentic, so far as regards the system of Herodotus's chronology.

I. *Assyrian monarchy.*

1. With the Greeks, Assyrian is generally a common name applied to the ruling nations about the Euphrates and Tigris previous to the time of Cyrus. With the Jews, on the contrary, it signifies a distinct nation of conquerors, and the founders of an empire. Hence a necessary distinction between the Grecian and Hebrew accounts.

Assyrians
of the
Greeks dif-
ferent from
those of the
Hebrews.

2. Assyrian history, according to Grecian authorities, particularly Ctesias and Diodorus. Nothing more than mere traditions of ancient heroes and heroines, who, at some early period, founded a large kingdom in the countries about the Euphrates and Tigris; traditions without any chronological data, and in the style of the east. Ninus—Semiramis—Ninyas—Sardanapalus.

History of
the Assyri-
ans of the
Greeks:

According to Herodotus, an Assyrian empire of 520 years' duration, 1237—717. Lists of Assyrian kings in the chronicles of Syncellus and Eusebius.

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of the Assy-
rians of the
Hebrews.

3. Assyrian history, according to Jewish authorities. Chronological history of an Assyrian empire between B. C. 800 and 700.—Seat of the nation in Assyria, properly so called.—Capital: Nineveh on the Tigris.—Extension of their dominion as far as Syria and Phœnicia.

Line of Assyrian kings: 1. Pul, about 773. Invasion of Syria. 2. Tiglath-Pileser, about 740. He overthrows the kingdom of Damascus. 3. Shalmaneser, about 720. He destroys the kingdom of Samaria. Transplantation of the inhabitants into inner Asia. 4. Sennacherib, about 714. Mighty expedition against Egypt, frustrated by a pestilence. 5. Esarhaddon¹.

II. *Medic monarchy.*

Different
accepta-
tions of the
word
Medes.

1. The name of Medes is undoubtedly often used by the Greeks to designate one nation; it is, however, not unfrequently applied also as a common appellation to the ruling nations in eastern Asia, from the Tigris to the Indus, (or Persia, in the more extensive sense of that word,) before Cyrus.—With the Jews: nothing more than general hints of the Medes as a conquering nation.

Great na-
tions known
to have ex-
isted east of
the Tigris.

2. Although, from the accounts of the Grecian writers, as well as from those of the Zendavesta, it cannot be doubted, that long before the rise of the Persian power, mighty kingdoms existed in these regions, and particularly in the eastern part, or Bactria; yet of those kingdoms we have by no means a consistent or chronological history: nothing but a few fragments, probably of dynasties which ruled in Media, properly so called, immediately previous to the Persians.

¹ Contemporary: Jews, the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah.—Greeks, decennial archons at Athens.—Romans, rise of the state and the two first kings.

a. Herodotus's History of the Medes. Herodotus's Medes are certainly the inhabitants of Media, properly so called. Division into six tribes: among these, that of the Magi.—Ruling nation after the overthrow of the Assyrians.—Capital of their empire, Ecbatana.—Boundaries: west, the Tigris and Halys; east, unknown.—Internal organization: graduated subjection of the various nations to one another, according to their distance from the seat of empire; rigid despotism; and imposition of tribute. Line of kings between B. C. 717—560¹. Deioces, 53 y. the founder of Ecbatana, *d.* 657.—Phraortes, 22 y. down to 635. He conquers Persia. Cyaxares I. 40 y. down to 595. He establishes military discipline among the Medes. Wages war with the Lydians, the Assyrians.—Irruption of the Scythians and Cimmerians, 625.—He takes Nineveh, 597. Astyages, 38 y. down to 560, when he was dethroned by Cyrus. According to Xenophon, Astyages was followed by another Medic prince, Cyaxares II. *b. Ctesias's History of the Medes*, deduced from Persian archives, and contained in Diodorus. Probably a different dynasty in eastern Asia. Line of kings, between B. C. 800 and 560. Arbaces, conqueror of the Assyrians, 18 y. Mandaucus, 50 y. Somarres, 30 y. Artias, 50 y. Arbanes, 22 y. Artæus, 40 y. and Artynes, 22 y. Bloody wars with the nomad races of the east, the Sacæ, and Cadusii. Artibarnas, 14 y. Astyages, the last king.

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III. Babylonian monarchy.

Babylonia.

Periods: 1st. Previous to the Chaldæan conquest, which occurred about 630. 2nd. From the Chaldæan conquest to the Persian, 630—538.

1. Of the first period, nothing but mere fragments. In the deepest antiquity, not only was the name of Babylon known, but in the Hebrew traditions this country appears as the earliest theatre of political connexions, and as the first point of confluence between the nations of Asia. Traditions concerning Nimrod—concerning the

1st period,
to B.C. 630.
fragments.

¹ Contemporary: Jews, kingdom of Judah alone.—Greeks, yearly archons, Draco, Solon.—Romans, kings from Tullus Hostilius to Servius Tullius.

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erection of the tower of Babel.—Comparison of those traditions with the Babylonian mythology in Berosus.—Scanty historical notices of this period in the subsequent Jewish writers; and probable dependence of Babylon upon the Assyrian empire.

2nd period,
to 538.
Chaldæans.

2. In the second period, 630—538, the Babylonians the ruling nation in western Asia¹.—The Chaldæans take possession of Babylon, there establish themselves, and afterwards extend their empire, by conquest, to the Mediterranean.

Origin of the Chaldæans: whether that name was applied to a distinct nation, or to the northern nomads in general?—Line of Chaldæan kings. In the enumeration of these kings, contained in Ptolemy, this line begins with Nabonassar, and the era bearing the name of that sovereign, which commences in the B.C. 747: (probably because, under the reign of that prince, the adoption of the Egyptian solar year first introduced among the Chaldæans an exact method of reckoning time.) Neither Nabonassar himself, nor his twelve immediate successors, are remarkable in history; none but the six last kings are deserving consideration. 1. Nabopolassar, 627—604. Settlement in Babylon; and complete establishment of the Chaldæo-Babylonian dominion, by the victory won over Pharaoh-Nechoh, near Circesium, in 604. 2. Nebuchadnezzar, 604—561. Brilliant period of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire. He conquers Phœnicia and Old Tyre about 586; Jerusalem in 587; probable irruptions into Egypt. Vast hydraulic undertakings in and about Babylon. After his death, rapid decline of the empire under—3. Evil-Merodach, 561—559. 4. Neriglissar, (probably the contemporary of Herodotus's Nitocris;)—555. Labosoarchad murdered, after a few months' reign. Nabonadius, (Herodotus's Labynetus; and probably the Chaldæan Belshazzar;) 555—538. conquered and captured by Cyrus. Sack of Babylon by the Persians, 538.

See the section concerning the Babylonians in A. H. L. HEEREN, *Ideas on the Politics, etc.* vol. i. part 2.

¹ Contemporary: Jews, last sovereigns of the kingdom of Judah.—Greeks, Solon, Pisistratus.—Romans, Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius.

IV. *States and kingdoms in Asia Minor.*

The vast number of nations which inhabited this peninsula, and the differences existing between them, were, no doubt, the cause that they never united into one empire. Among those nations, the most extensive were the Carian race towards the west, the Phrygian in the interior as far as the Halys, the Syro-Cappadocian beyond the Halys, and the Thracian in Bithynia. Yet in this quarter there were but three empires deserving commemoration in history—the Trojan, the Phrygian, the Lydian.

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No lasting
empire
formed out
of Asia
Minor.

1. The Trojan empire comprised western My-Troy.
sia: its history consists of mere traditions contained in poets, with very uncertain chronological data.

Kings: Teucer, about 1400.—Dardanus—Erichthonius—Tros (Troja)—Ilus (Ilium)—Laomedon—Priam. The destruction of Troy, after a ten years' war, occurred, it is probable, B.C. 1190¹.

2. The Phrygian empire.—Almost all the kings Phrygia.
were named Midas and Gordius; their succession cannot be critically determined. After the death of the last, called Midas V. Phrygia became a province of the Lydian empire, about 560.

3. The Lydian empire.—The Lydians (Mæoni-Lydia:
ans) were a branch of the Carian race. Accord-
ing to Herodotus, three dynasties are reckoned in
Lydia; that of the Atyadæ until 1232; of the three dynas-
Heraclidæ until 727; and that of the Mermnadæ ties there.
until 557: the two first are almost wholly fa-
bulous, and the history of Lydia may be said to
begin with the last dynasty².

¹ Contemporary: Jews, time of the Judges: previous to the foundation of Rome, 450 years.

² Contemporary with which were in Asia: the Medic and Babylonian em-

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Kings: Gyges, down to 689. From this period onwards wars almost uninterrupted with the Greek settlements along the sea-shore. Gyges takes Colophon. Ardys down to 640. He takes Priene. Under his reign, an irruption of the Cimmerians. Sadyattes down to 628. Alyattes down to 571. Expulsion of the Cimmerians. Capture of Smyrna. Cræsus down to 557. He takes Ephesus. Subjects to his power Asia Minor as far as the Halys. Under his reign, the first rise of a Lydian empire; which is, however, overthrown by Cyrus. Asia Minor becomes a province of the Persian empire.

V. Phœnicia.

Fragments
of Phœni-
cian history.

The Phœnicians, no doubt, are to be reckoned among the most remarkable nations of Asia in this period; yet we have no complete, nor even connected, history of that people; nothing but insulated accounts, from which, however, may be composed a general outline.

The peculiar sources of Phœnician history.—How far Sanchoiathon deserves to be mentioned here?—Hebrew writers, particularly Ezekiel; Greek writers: Josephus—Eusebius, etc. and the fragments there preserved of Menander of Ephesus, and Dius, historians of Tyre.

MIGNOT, *Mémoires sur les Phéniciens*; inserted in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xxiv.—xlii.* A series of twenty-four treatises.

The section concerning the Phœnicians in A. H. L. HEEREN, *Ideas on the Politics, etc.* vol. i. part 2.

Phœnician
federation
of cities.

1. Observations on the internal situation of Phœnicia. It did not constitute one state, or, at least, one single empire; but consisted of several cities, with their districts. Between these, however, there existed some political connexions, and hence a kind of supremacy of the more mighty towns, particularly of Tyre.

Each city
independ-
ent, but
Tyre the
first.

2. Although Tyre stood at the head, and

pire.—With the Jews, the last period of the kingdom of Judah.—With the Greeks, yearly archons at Athens.—With the Romans, kings.

claimed superiority to herself, yet each separate state was in possession of its own individual government. In every one of them we constantly meet with kings, who appear to have been princes with limited power, since they are accompanied by magistrates. Among a mercantile and colonizing people, it was impossible that absolute despotism should endure for any length of time. Of the separate states, Tyre is the only one of which we possess a series of kings; although that series itself is not uninterrupted.

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Tyrian
kings.

This line of kings, which we derive from Menander through Josephus, commences with Abical, the contemporary of David, about B. C. 1050. The most remarkable among them are: Hiram, the successor of the foregoing;—Ethbaal I. about 920;—Pygmalion, Dido's brother, about 900;—Ethbaal II. in whose reign Tyre was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, 586.—Rise of New Tyre—republican constitution under Suffetes: tributary kings under the Persian rule;—conquest of New Tyre by Alexander, 332. The flourishing period of Phœnicia in general, and of Tyre in particular, falls therefore between 1000—332¹.

3. In this period, the Phœnician race extended itself by the establishment of colonies, some of which, Carthage more particularly, became as powerful as the mother cities.

Phœnician
colonies:

General ideas concerning colonization.—1. Colonies are absolutely necessary to every seafaring and mercantile people, so soon as the commerce extends to distant lands. 2. They were likewise used as a mean to remedy the excessive increase of numbers in the needy classes. 3. Not unfrequently they were a consequence of political commotion, when the malecontents, of their own free will, or by force, forsook their country, and sought a residence in foreign parts.

4. Geographical review of the Phœnician colo-

¹ Contemporary in inner Asia: monarchies of the Assyrians, Medes, and the Babylonians. Jews: period of the kings after David. Greeks: from Homer to Solon. Romans: in the last two centuries the period of their kings.

<p>PERIOD BEFORE CYRUS. in the islands; Spain;</p>	<p>nies. They possessed, in very early times, most of the islands of the Archipelago; from which, however, they were subsequently expelled by the Greeks. The principal countries in which they had settlements were the south of Spain, (Tartessus, Gades, Carteia,) the north coast of Africa, west of the lesser Syrtis, (Utica, Carthage, Adrumetum,) and the north-western coast of Sicily, (Panormus, Lilybæum.) It is likewise highly probable that they formed settlements towards the east in the Persic gulf, on the islands of Tylos and Aradus (the Bahhrein islands.)</p>
<p>Africa; Sicily; probably in the Persic gulf.</p>	<p>5. This review of the Phœnician colonies will serve as a basis for that of their sea trade and navigation; which, however, extended much farther than their colonies. With them, as with other nations, commerce took its rise in piracy; even so late as the time of Homer, the Phœnicians appear as freebooters. The principal objects of this commerce were ^a the settlements in north Africa and Spain; the latter more particularly, on account of its rich silver mines. ^b Beyond the pillars of Hercules, the west coast of Africa; Britain and the Scilly islands, for the purpose of procuring tin, and likewise, in all probability, amber. ^c From Elath and Ezion-Gebar, ports situate at the northern extremity of the Arabian gulf, they undertook, in connexion with the Jews, voyages to Ophir, that is to say, the rich lands of the south, particularly Arabia Felix and Ethiopia. ^d From the Persic gulf, they extended their commercial excursions as far as the western peninsula of India and the island of Ceylon. Finally, ^e they made several extensive voyages of discovery,</p>
<p>Sea trade of the Phœ- nicians:</p>	
<p>they double the cape of Good Hope.</p>	

among which, the most remarkable was the circumnavigation of Africa.

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6. Of no less importance was the land trade, carried on, for the greater part, by means of caravans. The principal branches of which were :
 * The Arabian caravan trade in spices and perfumes, imported from Arabia Felix, Gerra, and the Persic gulf. ^b The trade through Palmyra with Babylon, and from thence, although not directly, through Persia into lesser Bukharia and little Thibet, probably even as far as China.
 * The trade with Armenia and the neighbouring countries in slaves, horses, copper utensils, etc.

Their land
trade :

7. To the above must be added their own manufactures, particularly their stuffs and dyes ; (the purple dye produced by the juice of a marine shellfish ;) their manufactures of glass and toys, which, in their commerce with uncivilized nations, generally carried on by barter, they turned to good account. Many other important discoveries, among which that of writing holds the first rank, are attributed to them.

their manu-
factures.

VI. *Syrians.*

1. The inhabitants of Syria were a nation dwelling in cities so early as B. C. 2000, when Abraham wandered over their country. They did not constitute one single state, but were divided among several cities, each of which had its separate district and its chief or king ; of these cities, Damascus, Hamath, etc. were known in earliest antiquity.

Syria, an
early state ;

2. The Syrians were, however, often oppressed by foreign conquerors ; and their country was certainly, at least in the time of David, a Jewish

a frequent
object of
conquest :
about B. C.
1040.

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province. But so early as Solomon it recovered its freedom; and Rezon, who had formerly been a slave, possessed himself of Damascus.

Kingdom of
Damascus.

3. Now arose a kingdom of Damascus, which comprised the greatest portion of Syria, the kings in the other cities becoming tributary to him of Damascus. The frontiers of this empire were extended at the expense of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel¹.

The kings whose names are deduced from the books of Chronicles, are: Rezon, about 980. Benhadad I. about 900. Hazael, about 850. Benhadad II. about 830. Rezin. Under this last, the kingdom of Damascus was overthrown by the Assyrian chieftain Tiglath-Pileser, about 740.

VII. *Jews.*

Periods of
Jewish his-
tory.

The history of the Jews, as a nation, commences with their patriarch Abraham: that of the Jewish state not till the occupation of Palæstine. The history divides into three periods. I. History of the Jews, as a nomad horde, from Abraham down to the time they established themselves as a state in Palæstine, from B. C. 2000—1500. II. History of the Jewish state as a federative republic under the high priests and judges, from B. C. 1500—1100. III. History of the Jewish state under a monarchic government, from B. C. 1100—600, first as one single kingdom,—975; afterwards as two separate kingdoms, Israel and Judah, until the downfall of the latter, 588.

Sources of the Jewish history.—Their annals:—Books of Judges, Samuel, Chronicles, Kings. How those books were composed, and how far their authors may be considered as con-tem-

¹ Contemporary in inner Asia: Assyrian kingdom. Jews: kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Greeks: settlement of the Asiatic colonies—Lycargus.

porary with the events they relate? How far the Hebrew poets, the prophets in particular, can be considered as historical authority?—Josephus, as an antiquarian in his *Archæologia*, and as a contemporary historian in his *Historia Belli Romani*.

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Unfortunately we have not yet any competent treatise on the Jewish history previous to the Babylonian captivity, written in an impartial spirit, without superstition or scepticism. Works such as BERRUYER, *Histoire du Peuple de Dieu, depuis son origine jusqu'à la Naissance de J. C.* Paris, 1742, 10 vols. 8vo.; and the continuation, *depuis la Naissance de J. C.* 10 vols. do not answer the purpose. RELANDI *Antiquit. Sacr. Heb.* The writings of J. D. MICHAELIS, particularly his † *Remarks on the Translation of the Old Testament* and his † *Mosaic Law*; together with those of J. S. EICHHORN, particularly his † *Introduction to the Old Testament*: together with † HERDER, *On the Spirit of Hebrew Poesy*, furnish many excellent materials.

I. *Period of the nomad state from Abraham until the conquest of Palæstine.*—Under Abraham, Jews as a nomad horde:

Isaac, and Jacob, nothing more at first than one single nomad family; which, however, during its sojourn in lower Egypt,—where during four hundred and thirty (or, according to others, two hundred and fifty) years, it roved about in subjection to the Egyptian Pharaohs,—increased to a nomad nation, and divided into 12 tribes. But the nation having become numerous, and, therefore, formidable, the Pharaohs, following the usual policy of the Egyptians, wished to compel the Jews to build and inhabit cities. Unaccustomed to oppression, they fled from Egypt under the conduct of Moses; and conquered, under him and his successor Joshua, Palæstine, the land of promise.

sojourn in
Egypt 2000
to about
1500.

Moses and his legislation.—What he borrowed and what he did not borrow from the Egyptians?—Worship of the true God in the national sanctuary, and by national festivals, celebrated with ceremonies rigidly prescribed, considered as the point of union of the whole nation, and the political bond which held the

PERIOD BEFORE CYRUS. tribes together.—The caste of Levites, compared with the Egyptian caste of priests.

J. D. MICHAELIS, *Mosaic Law*. Gottingen, 1778, etc. 6 vols. 8vo. ; translated into English by Dr. ALEXANDER SMITH. Lond. 1814, 4 vols. 8vo. Not unfrequently the commentator has seen more than the lawgiver.

Jews as a federate republic.

II. *Period of the federative republic.* From the occupation of Palæstine to the establishment of monarchy, 1500—1100.

Heroic age.

1. General character of this period as the heroic age of the nation, which, after the gradual adoption of fixed dwellings and agriculture, was engaged in constant feuds with its neighbours, the vagrant Arabs, the Philistines, and the Edomites.—Impossibility of the total ejection of the aboriginal inhabitants according to the intention of Moses.—Hence the worship of the true God was not the *only* religion in the country.

Constitution.

2. Political organization. In consequence of the division of the land, according to the tribes, and their separation from one another, the government remains long patriarchal. Each tribe preserves its patriarch or elder, as in the nomad state. All, however, have, in the worship of the true God, one common bond, uniting them into one federate state. Magistrates are likewise appointed in the cities, to whom scribes are conjoined out of the Levite caste.

Distribution of the Levites.

3. The permanent union of the nation, and observance of the Mosaic code, is likewise promoted by the distribution of the Levite caste into forty-eight separate towns, scattered throughout the country, and by making the high priesthood hereditary in Aaron's family.

4. But as, at the death of Joshua, the Jews were left without any common chieftain, the religious bond was no longer sufficient, inasmuch as a rivalry sprung up between the weaker and more powerful tribes. The high priests appear at this time to have had no political influence. Oppression from abroad alone hindered the national ties from being dissolved.

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Disturbed
state of the
Jews at the
death of
Joshua.

5. The Jews are sometimes independent, at other times tributary. In the periods of oppression, heroes arise, from time to time, who deliver them from bondage, acting as chief magistrates and leaders of a part, or even the whole of the nation, and at the same time as champions of the worship of the true God. The judges, particularly Othniel, Deborah, and Sampson.—Concerning the marvellous in their history.

Judges.

6. Reestablishment of the worship of the true God by Samuel. He is judge, and rules as Jehovah's minister.—His own sons defeat his plan of making the office of judge hereditary in his family. The nation demands a king, whom Samuel, as minister of the true God, is to appoint. His skilful policy in the election, which he cannot impede. He chooses Saul, the most insignificant man of the nation, politically speaking; but the tallest and most stately. A formal constitutional act, according to the Mosaic command, is drawn up and deposited in the national sanctuary.

Kings,
about 1150.

Causes which excited the nation to demand a king.—Earlier attempts made, particularly by *Abimelech*, to obtain kingly power.

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III. *Period of the monarchy from 1100—600.*

1. *The Jewish state as one single kingdom from 1100 (1095)—975.*

Saul:

1. *Saul*, the new king, strengthened himself on the throne by a victory over the Ammonites; and a general assembly of the nation, in which Samuel laid down his office as judge, unanimously acknowledged his sovereignty. But Saul, as soon as he was conqueror, would no longer abide under the tutelage of Samuel, but durst himself consult Jehovah: hence arose a feud between the two. The offended Samuel anointed in secret another young man as king, David the son of Jesse, who, by his heroic prowess, gained renown, and escaped the jealousy of Saul.—Saul sustained himself amid constant wars with the neighbouring nations, in which at last he, together with all his sons, excepting one, lost their lives.

slain about
1055.

Jewish go-
vernment
and state
under him.

2. State of the nation and constitution under Saul.—The king little more than a military leader obedient to the commands of Jehovah; without either court or fixed residence.—The people as yet a mere agricultural and pastoral race, without wealth or luxury; but gradually assuming the character of a warlike nation.

David,
1055-1015.

3. Saul was succeeded by David; but not without opposition. Eleven tribes declared for Ish-bosheth, the remaining son of Saul; and David was acknowledged only by his own tribe Judah. It was not till after the lapse of seven years, and the murder of Ish-bosheth by his own people, that David was recognised king of the whole nation.

4. Complete formation of the nation and change of constitution during the undivided reign of David, which lasted thirty-three years. Settlement of a new residence at Jerusalem, which was likewise to be the seat of the national sanctuary. Rigid observance of the worship of the true God, the exclusive religion of the nation, considered as to its political importance.

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State of the
nation and
government
in his reign.

5. Vast aggrandizement of the Jewish state by conquest. War with Hadadezer opens the way to the conquest of Syria and Idumæa. Extent of the kingdom from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean; from Phœnicia to the Red sea. Gradual decline towards despotism and seraglio government; the political consequences of which become apparent about the end of David's reign, in the rebellion of his sons.

Conquests.

6. Reign of Solomon. The brilliant government of a despot from the interior of his seraglio; unwarlike, but civilized, and fond of parade. New organization of the kingdom for the support of the court. Connexions formed with the neighbouring states, particularly with Tyre; and hence a participation in the southern trade carried on from the ports of the Red sea, conquered by David; but only as a monopoly of the court.

Solomon,
1015-975.

7. The capital enriched by the splendor of the court; but the country oppressed and impoverished, particularly the distant tribes. Gradual internal decay hastened by the admixture of the worship of foreign gods with that of Jehovah; although Solomon, by the erection of the temple according to the plan of his father, seems to have wished to make the worship of the true God the

Declension
of the state.

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only religion of the country. Attempt at rebellion made without success by Jeroboam; and by the Edomites, who remain tributary under their own kings: actual secession, so early as Solomon's time, of conquered Syria by the foundation of the kingdom of Damascus.

Rehoboam.

8. Solomon is succeeded by his son Rehoboam, but hardly has that prince ascended the throne, when the malecontents, increased in number by his imprudence, break into open rebellion. Jeroboam is recalled out of Egypt, and ten tribes acknowledge him as their king. Two tribes only, Judah and Benjamin, remain faithful to Rehoboam.

II. *The Jewish state as a divided kingdom,* 975—588.

Causes of
the long
wars be-
tween Ju-
dah and
Israel.

1. Reciprocal relations between the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Although Israel was more extensive and populous than Judah, yet was Judah, in consequence of possessing the capital, the richer; thus the power of both kingdoms was pretty nearly balanced; and hence the struggle between them was the more obstinate.

Policy of
the kings
of Israel:

2. The kings of Israel seek to confirm the political division of the nation, by establishing a seat of worship in their territory, in order to restrain their subjects from visiting the ancient seat of national worship in Jerusalem; hence they were called the enemies of the true God. Several kings even of Judah were, however, so impolitic as to mingle the worship of other gods with that of Jehovah. But oppression itself serves to sustain the worship of Jehovah; the number and political influence of the prophets increase in proportion

of those
of Judah.

as men feel, amid the turbulence of the times, need of the counsels of the true God; the idea of some future happier period under a mighty king—the idea of the Messiah and of his kingdom—is perfected as the recollection of the splendid reign of David is more lively.—Schools of the prophets.

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CYRUS.

3. The rivalry and wars between those two kingdoms not only continue with slight interruption, but become more and more fraught with danger, in consequence of alliances framed with foreign princes, particularly with the kings of Damascus and of Egypt. At last an end is put to these feeble kingdoms by the rise of vast empires in inner Asia.

Termination of the wars.

Main points in the history of the two separate kingdoms.

1. KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, 975—722; under 19 kings, from different families, who succeeded to the throne amid violent revolutions. 1. Jeroboam, *d.* 954. Settlement of the royal residence at Shechem; of the sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, and appointment of priests, who did not belong to the tribe of Levi. Constant wars with the kings of Judah. 2. Nadab, Jeroboam's son, murdered in 953 by 3. Baasha, *d.* 930. This prince, by his alliance with the kings of Damascus, brought the kingdom of Judah into great danger. 4. Elah murdered in 929 by one of his generals, 5. Zimri, in whose place the army immediately elected 6. Omri: this prince, at the beginning of his reign, had a rival to the throne in Tibni, *d.* 925. Omri erected the new capital of Samaria, *d.* 918. He was succeeded by his son 7. Ahab: strong connexions by marriage with the kings of Sidon; introduction of the Phœnician worship of Baal. Wars with Damascus, in which Ahab at last perishes, 897. Under Ahab a league formed with the king of Judah. He is succeeded by his sons, 8. Ahaziah, *d.* 896, and 9. Jehoram. The league with Judah continues. Jehoram is murdered by Jehu, 883. 10. Jehu: this king destroys the house of Ahab, which had given 4 kings to Israel, and does away with the worship of Baal. The kings of Damascus wrest from the kingdom of Israel the lands beyond

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Jordan. Jehu, *d.* 856. He is succeeded by his son 11. Jehoahaz, *d.* 840. The wars with Damascus continue unsuccessful to Israel. 12. Jehoash, *d.* 825. He defeats the kings of Damascus and Judah. 13. Jeroboam II. *d.* 784. He restores the kingdom of Israel to its ancient extent. After a turbulent interregnum of 12 years, he is succeeded by his son 14. Zechariah, 773; who was assassinated the same year, being the last remnant of the house of Jehu, which had given 5 kings to Israel. His murderer, 15. Shallum, after a reign of one month, was in his turn assassinated by 16. Menahem, *d.* 761: under his reign the first expedition of the Assyrians, headed by Pul, whom he buys off by tribute. 17. His son Pekahiah murdered in 759 by 18. Pekah. Under the reign of the latter, the expedition of Tiglath-Pileser the Assyrian, and destruction of Damascus. Pekah is murdered in 740 by 19. Hoshea, who, after an anarchy of eight years, takes possession of the throne. Hoshea endeavours, by an alliance with Egypt, to deliver himself from the Assyrian yoke; but Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, wages war against him, conquers Samaria, and puts an end to the kingdom of Israel, the inhabitants of which he transplants to Media in inner Asia, 722.

2. KINGDOM OF JUDAH under 20 kings of the house of David, 975—588. The line of inheritance from father to son is generally followed without any dispute, and remains uninterrupted, with two exceptions, Athaliah's usurpation, and the intervention of foreign conquerors. 1. Rehoboam, *d.* 958. Jerusalem is still the place of residence; but even in the reign of Rehoboam, the worship of Jehovah began to fall into neglect, in consequence of the introduction of foreign gods. Besides the war with Israel, Jerusalem is attacked and plundered by Shishak, king of Egypt. 2. Abijah, *d.* 955. 3. Asa. This prince was attacked by the combined kings of Israel and Damascus, and, no doubt, would have sunk in the conflict, had he not succeeded in breaking their alliance; *d.* 914. 4. Jehoshaphat, the restorer of the worship of Jehovah and framer of a league with the kingdom of Israel. His attempt to reestablish the trade to Ophir, on the Red sea, is unsuccessful, *d.* 891. 5. Jehoram. The union with Israel is confirmed by the marriage of this prince with Ahab's daughter, Athaliah; but Idumæa, under his reign, secedes wholly from the kingdom of Judah, *d.* 884. 6. His son Ahaziah is, in the next year, 883, assassinated by Jehu, the murderer and successor of Jehoram king of Israel. 7. His mother, Athaliah, takes possession of the throne; murders the whole royal family; only one

son of Ahaziah, 8. Joash, is, in consequence of his youth, rescued from the carnage, secretly educated in the temple, and after seven years forcibly placed upon the throne, by means of a revolution wrought by the high priest, Jehoiada; and Athaliah is slaughtered, 877. Joash ruled under the tutelage of the priests, hence the reestablishment of Jehovah's worship. This prince, threatened by Hazael king of Damascus, was compelled to pay him tribute. He was slain in 838. 9. Amaziah: he beat the Edomites, and was in his turn beaten by Jehoash king of Israel, by whom Jerusalem itself was sacked. He was slain in 811, and succeeded 10. by his son Azariah, (or Uzziah.) This prince was leprous, and *d.* 759. His son 11. Jotham, *d.* 743. became regent during the life of his father. The wars with Israel and Damascus recommence. 12. Ahaz, *d.* 728. The league between the kings of Damascus and Israel induced Ahaz to call to his assistance Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, who overthrew the kingdom of Damascus, and subjected Israel and Judah to tribute. 13. Hezekiah, *d.* 699. He delivers himself from the Assyrian yoke: under his reign Shalmaneser destroys Samaria, 722: and Shalmaneser's successor, Sennacherib, undertakes his expedition into Egypt, 714. Jerusalem is again besieged, but happily relieved by the total failure of the expedition. During the reign of this prince Isaiah prophesies. 14. Manasseh, *d.* 644. During his 55 years' reign, the worship of the Phœnician god, Baal, became general; that of Jehovah fell into contempt, and the Mosaic law into oblivion. 15. Amon murdered so early as 642. 16. Josiah restorer of the temple, and of the worship of Jehovah. The book of the Law, which had been laid aside and forgotten, is once more found, and a complete reform instituted according to its principles. But the victories of the Egyptian king, Necos, in Asia, had for their first object Palæstine; and Josiah fell in battle, 611. His son, 17. Jehoahaz, is, after a reign of three months, dethroned by Pharaoh-Nechoh, and his brother 18. Jehoikim is placed as tributary prince on the throne. But in consequence of the rise of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, Pharaoh-Nechoh is deprived of his Asiatic conquests by the loss of the battle of Cираsus, 606; and Jehoikim becomes tributary to Nebuchadnezzar, *d.* 599.—The prophet Jeremiah flourishes.—19. Jehoiachin, son of the former king, after three months' reign, is, together with the greater part of the nation, transplanted into inner Asia by Nebuchadnezzar, after a second expedition, (commencement of the Babylonian captivity,) and, 20. Zedekiah, brother by the

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father's side of Jehoiachin, is seated on the throne as a tributary prince. But having framed a league with Egypt, in order to throw off the Babylonian yoke, Nebuchadnezzar comes a third time, conquers Jerusalem, 588, and delivers it up to pillage and destruction; and Zedekiah, after being blinded and losing all his children by the hands of the executioner, is, together with the remaining portion of the nation, led in captivity to Babylon.

S. BERNHARDI *Commentatio de causis quibus effectum sit ut regnum Judæ diutius persisteret quam regnum Israel; cum tabula geographica*, Lovanii, 1825, 4°. A prize essay, containing also several valuable inquiries into the monarchical period of the Jewish state.

† BAUER, *Manual of the History of the Hebrew Nation*, vol. i—iii. 1800. The best introduction hitherto published, not only to the history, but also to the antiquities, of the nation, from the rise to the fall of the state.

II. AFRICAN NATIONS.

General Geographical Outline of Ancient Africa¹.

1. ALTHOUGH the Phœnicians had circum-
navigated Africa, the northern part only of that
quarter of the globe was known in antiquity.
With that part, however, the ancients were
better acquainted than we are in the present
day, the coast being then occupied by civil-
ized and commercial nations, who pushed their
excursions far inland. This was the case in early
times with the Carthaginians and the Egyptians;
still more so with the Macedonian Greeks, under
the Ptolemies, and under the Romans. War, hunt-
ing, and commerce, were, generally speaking, the
objects which gave rise to those excursions.

AFRICA.
Acquaint-
ance of the
ancients
with Africa.

2. Considered as a whole, Africa is, both in
situation and form, very different from Asia. Asia
lies almost entirely within the temperate zone;
Africa, on the contrary, is almost wholly under
the torrid zone. Asia abounds in deep gulfs and
large rivers; Africa constitutes a regular triangle,
and on the northern side possesses but two large
rivers, the Nile and the Niger. No wonder then,
that this portion of our globe should form, as it
were, a world to itself, distinguished by its pro-
ductions and its inhabitants.

General
view of
Africa.

3. Physically considered, northern Africa di-

Physical
geography

¹ See A. H. L. HEEREN, *Ideen*, u. s. f. vol. ii. p. 2. sqq.

AFRICA. of north Africa. vides into three regions, distinguished in early antiquity by separate names. The maritime country along the Mediterranean, with the exception of Tripolis, or the Regio Syrtica, consists principally of very fruitful land, and consequently was, at all times, very thickly inhabited: hence in Herodotus it bears the name of the *inhabited Africa*; it is now called Barbary. Above this, and under the 30th parallel of north latitude, succeeds a mountainous tract, athwart which stretches the chain of Atlas; abounding in wild beasts and dates: hence Herodotus calls it the *wild beast Africa*: among the Arabs it is called the land of dates, (*Biledulgerid*.) Beyond this, and between the 30th and 20th degrees of northern latitude, the sandy region extends right across Africa and Arabia: this part of Africa is therefore known, both among the ancients and moderns, under the name of Africa Deserta, or the Sandy Desert. (Sahara.) The fruitful lands beyond the desert, stretching along the banks of the Niger, were almost wholly unknown to the Greeks: by them these parts were comprehended under the common name of Ethiopia, although that name applied more peculiarly to the tracts above Egypt. The Greeks were, however, acquainted with some of the fruitful spots in the desert, the Oases; such as Augila, Ammonium, and the Oases, properly so called, in Egypt.

Political
state.

4. There exists no political division which comprises the whole of Africa: the north coast alone was inhabited by civilized nations, Egyptians, Cyrenæans, and Carthaginians; of which the first only were aboriginals. The rest of the inhabit-

ants either roved about as nomad hordes, or AFRICA. formed insignificant states; of the existence of some of which we have heard, although we possess no history of them. Along the shore, reckoning from the Plinthetic gulf, Egypt is succeeded by: 1st. Marmarica, a tract without cities, consisting principally of sandy deserts, occupied by nomad hordes: this country extends from the 40th to the 47th degree E. Lat. 2nd. The fertile territory occupied by the Greek colonies, called Cyrenaica, extended to the greater Syrtis, 37—40° E. L. Cities: Cyrene, Barca. 3d. The territory of Carthage, extending from the greater Syrtis to the Fair Promontory, 25—40° E. L. This territory comprised the country between the greater and lesser Syrtis, (Regio Syrtica,) which constitutes the modern kingdom of Tripoli; a sandy tract, almost wholly occupied by nomads. ^bThe territory of Carthage, properly so called, (kingdom of Tunis.) A very fruitful country; the southern part called Byzacena, the northern part, Zeugitana. Cities: Carthage, Utica, etc. 4th. Numidia and Mauritania; occupied during the Carthaginian age by nomad races. Along the shore some Carthaginian settlements.

EGYPTIANS.

Geographical preliminaries. Egypt in its superficial contents is equal to about two-thirds of Germany, and therefore deserves a rank among

EGYPT. the more extensive countries of the globe ; it varies, however, much in respect to its physical properties. Fruitful arable soil is found only in the tracts along the banks of the Nile, so far as the floods of that river extend ; the rest of the country is, westward a sandy desert, eastward encumbered by rocky mountains. From its entrance into Egypt at Syene, the Nile flows in one undivided stream down to the city of Cercasorus, 60 g. miles above its embouchure, directing its course from south to north along a valley which is enclosed towards the west by deserts of sand, towards the east by mountains of granite. This valley varies in breadth from 8 to 16 g. miles : at Cercasorus the stream first divides itself into two main branches, which formerly discharged their waters into the Mediterranean, the eastern one near the city of Pelusium, the western near the city of Canopus (ostium Pelusiaceum and Canopicum;) from these two diverged several sub-branches ; so that in the time of Herodotus there existed seven mouths of the Nile, but the number has not always remained the same. The tract between the two extreme arms of the Nile bears, in consequence of its triangular form, the name of the Delta ; it was covered with cities, and highly cultivated. The fruitful Egypt, that which was inhabited by civilized men, was therefore confined to the Delta and the vale of the Nile, on both sides of the stream from Syene to Cercasorus ; to which must be added two well watered spots in the centre of the western desert, known under the name of the Oases. In consequence of the perpetual absence of rain, particularly in

Course of
the Nile.

upper Egypt, the fertility of the Delta and of the EGYPT. vale of the Nile depends on the river floods, which rise at stated periods. These commence with the beginning of August and continue to the end of October; so that during three whole months the above-mentioned parts of the country lie under water.

Egypt is divided into upper Egypt, extending from Syene to the city of Chemmis, (capital, Thebes, or Diospolis;) central Egypt, from Chemmis to Cercasorus, (capital, Memphis;) lower Egypt, which comprises the Delta, and the land on both sides; it was full of cities, among which the most remarkable was Sais.

Divisions of
Egypt.

Above Egypt, succeeds Ethiopia, (*Æthiopia supra Ægyptum*;) which, from the earliest times, principally through commerce, appears to have been connected with the former country. The tracts immediately above Egypt, to which we are accustomed to apply the name of Nubia, are for the most part a mere desert of sand, over which rove to the present day hordes of nomad robbers. In this quarter the rocky mountain range which closes the eastern side of Egypt, continues to stretch along the Red sea, and was in Nubia so much the more important, as it contained rich mines of gold, found a little above the Egyptian frontiers. The Nile makes a wide curve to the west in Nubia, and becomes full of shallows, which render the navigation difficult; the banks, nevertheless, are fruitful and well inhabited, and abound in ancient monuments. Higher up, reckoning from 16° N. L. the appearance of the country changes; the region of fertility commences,

Ethiopia.

EGYPT. and its costly productions, its gold, its perfumes, gave rise to a rich trade in these provinces. Among these countries, Meroe, with a capital of the same name, was celebrated in the days of Herodotus. By Meroe is understood a tract of land bounded by two rivers, the Nile on the west, and the Astaboras, (Tacazze,) which falls into the Nile, on the east; for this reason it is frequently, although improperly, called an island. This country extended towards the sources of the Nile, or the modern province of Gojam, where, under the reign of Psammetichus, the Egyptian caste of warriors, having for the most part deserted, established themselves. Meroe itself, like the Egyptian states, was hierarchal, with a king at its head.—The city of Axum, or Auxume, is not indeed mentioned at so early a period; but if we may judge by the ruins that still remain, it was of equally high antiquity with the old Egyptian towns and with Meroe. The same observations apply to Adule, the harbour on the Arabian gulf.

Divisions of
Egyptian
history.

The Egyptian history is divided into three periods of unequal duration; the *first* of which extends from the earliest time down to the Sesostridæ, that is to say, to about B. C. 1600: the *second* comprises the reigns of the Sesostridæ, or the brilliant period of Egypt, down to Psammetichus, 1600—650: the *third* brings us from Psammetichus down to the Persian conquest, 650—525.

FIRST PERIOD.

*From the earliest times down to the Sesostridæ, about
B. C. 1600.*

Sources: 1. Jewish writers. *Moses*. His records contain, no doubt, a faithful picture of the Egyptian state in his day; but no continuous history can be deduced from them.—From Moses down to Solomon (B. C. 1500—1000.) total silence, with respect to Egypt, of the Hebrew writers. From Solomon down to Cyrus, (B. C. 1000—550.) a few scanty fragments.—Importance and superiority of the Jewish accounts, so far as they are *purely historical*. 2. Greek writers. ^a *Herodotus*. The first who published a History of the Egyptians. About 70 years after the destruction of the throne of the Pharaohs by the Persian conquerors, this author collected the earliest accounts of the history of the country; he received his information from the most capable persons, the priests; and wrote down faithfully that information, such as he heard it. If, therefore, we wish to estimate at their proper worth the accounts given by Herodotus, it becomes necessary to inquire, what did the priests themselves know of their earlier national history? An answer to this question cannot be framed until we have ascertained in what manner the historical records of the earlier periods were preserved among the Egyptians.

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The earliest history of the Egyptians, like that of all other nations, was traditional; they adopted, however, sooner than other nations a sort of writing, hieroglyphics, or allegorical picture writing; in which the signs borrowed from natural objects served, as modern discoveries have proved, partly to represent sounds, (hieroglyphes phonétiques,) and partly to express ideas; in the latter case they were either representative or allegorical. This mode of writing, by its nature, is not so complete as the purely alphabetical; since, 1. It can express only a narrow sphere of ideas, and these separately, without connexion or grammatical inflexion, at least with very few exceptions. 2. As it is not so well adapted to writing as to painting or engraving, it is not so useful for books as for public monuments. 3. Being em-

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blematic, it is not intelligible without the help of a key ; which must be preserved in some tradition connected with the monument ; and the priests were the only persons who possessed it : now such a key could hardly be preserved many centuries without falsification. 4. The same image seems frequently to have been used to express very different objects.—It follows, that the Egyptian history, as deduced from the lips of the priests, can hardly have been any thing more than records connected with, and depending upon, public monuments : consisting, therefore, of mere fragments, and reducible to no consistent chronology, it ultimately admitted only of allegorical translation, and consequently was subject to misinterpretation. Besides their hieroglyphics, the Egyptians certainly had two other species of writing: the *hieratic*, confined to the priests, and the *demotic*, used in common life. Both, however, seem to have been nothing more than running hands derived from the hieroglyphic system ; and we have no instance of the employment of either the one or the other in public monuments of the time of the Pharaohs. That the use of papyrus, a material on which all the above kinds of writing were adopted, had its origin in the highest antiquity, or at least in the more brilliant period of the Pharaohs, we now know for certain, written documents belonging to those times having been obtained from the tombs.

CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE, *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens*. Paris, 1824. The main work on this subject, of which the *Lettre à M. Dacier*, 1822, is but the precursor, and the two *Lettres à M. le duc de Blacas* the continuation. The new method of deciphering has received its principal confirmation from the work of the British consul in Egypt, SALT, *Essay on the Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, 1825, on the authority of comparison with the Egyptian monuments themselves. Hitherto, however, little more has been made out than the names and titles of the kings, distinguished by being always enclosed within a border.

These preliminary ideas on the earlier Egyptian history, will receive full confirmation from a perusal of the account given by Herodotus of the Egyptian kings previous to Psammetichus¹. The study of that author proves beyond all doubt, that: I. The whole history is throughout founded on public monuments, and on monuments too, either in or near *Memphis*. We may even

¹ Herod. ii. cap. 99—150.

restrict ourselves to one single monument at Memphis, to the temple of Vulcan, or Phtha, the chief temple of that city. The history commences with Menes, the founder of that edifice, (c. 99.) and we are informed, respecting each of his successors, what was done towards the augmentation and embellishment of the building: those who added no erection to that temple, but left other monuments, (as the builders of the pyramids,) are denominated oppressors of the people, and contemners of the gods: of those princes who left no monuments at all, the priests could give no other information than a catalogue of names. II. Hence this line of kings, although the priests gave it to Herodotus as such, is not without interruptions, but, as is clearly proved by a comparison with Diodorus, contains many wide chasms. Therefore no chronological system can be erected upon such a basis. III. The whole history is interwoven with narrations derived from hieroglyphic representations, and for that very reason allegorical; the meaning of which it is no longer possible to unravel, the priests themselves being either unable or unwilling to explain it, and even inclining, it appears, to introduce false interpretations. To this class of narrations belong, for instance, that of the robbery of Rhampsinitus's treasury; that of his journey into hell, where he played at dice with Ceres; (c. 121, 122.) that concerning the daughter of Cheops, (c. 127.) concerning the blindness of Pheron, and the manner in which he was cured, etc. (c. 111.) To prove that this charge is not without foundation, it will suffice to adduce two examples; one from c. 131. where Herodotus himself observes that such was the case; the other from c. 141. the true meaning of which we gather from other sources. Even in the time of Herodotus, it was customary with the priests to endeavour to conciliate the Greek and Egyptian authorities, a fact in proof of which there are many arguments which cannot escape the critic: such, for instance, as the completely *Græcised* history of king Proteus, c. 112—115.—The general result of the above observations on Herodotus's Egyptian history is, that it is nothing more than a narration connected with public monuments. To this inference but one objection can possibly be made, namely, that the Egyptian priests possessed, besides their hieroglyphics, an alphabetical mode of writing; consequently, that, over and above the public monuments, they might likewise refer to written annals: but this objection is overthrown by Herodotus himself. All the information the priests could give him beyond what has been above alluded to, consisted in the names of 330 kings, sub-

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sequent to Menes: these they read from a papyrus roll, but knew nothing more of the kings who bore them, because *those sovereigns had left no monuments behind them*, (c. 100.)

^b Besides Herodotus, *Diodorus* likewise furnishes us with the names of some Egyptian kings². This author, who wrote 400 years subsequently to Herodotus, visited Egypt, and collected his history, partly from the oral and written documents of the priests of *Thebes*, partly from the more ancient Greek writers, and particularly *Hecateus*. If we consider Herodotus's line of kings as not continuous or uninterrupted, all appearance of contradiction between the two historians vanishes. *Diodorus*, like Herodotus, did not intend to give a complete enumeration of the Egyptian kings; but only of the most remarkable; indicating the interruptions by the number of human generations which they contained.

^c Finally, different from both the above is the Egyptian *Manetho*, high priest at *Heliopolis*, who flourished under the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, about B.C. 260. He wrote the *Ægyptiaca*, of which besides several fragments in *Josephus*, the enumeration of the kings has been preserved in the chronicles of *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*. This catalogue is divided into three sections, (tomos,) each of which contains several dynasties, in all 31, enumerated according to the different cities of Egypt. In each dynasty the number of kings belonging to it and the years of their reigns are marked. The authenticity of *Manetho* is now completely established; since the names of the Pharaohs mentioned by him have been deciphered on the Egyptian monuments. To this period belong the first 17 dynasties; in the 18th begins the second and brilliant period, to which the yet remaining monuments of upper Egypt, bearing the names of the founders, are to be ascribed. It is worthy of observation, that in Herodotus we have the documents of the priests of *Memphis*, in *Diodorus* those of the priests of *Thebes*, in *Manetho* those of the priests of *Heliopolis*—the three principal seats of sacerdotal learning:—perfect consistency cannot, therefore, be expected in the accounts of those historians.

The modern writers on Egyptian antiquities, from *KIRCHER*, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, 1670, to *DE PAUW*, *Recherches sur les Égyptiens et sur les Chinois*, 1772, have too often substituted their own dreams and hypotheses for truth. The principal at-

² *Diod.* lib. i.

tempts at a chronological arrangement of the dynasties have been made by MARSHAM, in his *Canon Chronicus*; and by GATTERER, in his † *Synchronistic History of the World*.—Among the principal works on this subject may be reckoned:

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JABLONSKI *Pantheon Mythicum Ægyptiacum*, 1750, 8vo.

GATTERER, *Commentationes de Theogonia Ægypti*. in *Commentat. Societ. Gotting.* t. vii.

De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum, auctore G. ZOEGA; Romæ, 1797.

L'Égypte sous les Pharaons, ou Recherches sur la Géographie, la Religion, la Langue, les Ecritures, et l'Histoire de l'Égypte avant l'invasion de Cambyse, par CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE, t. 1, 2. 1814. These two volumes, dedicated to the geography, contain the restitution of the ancient Egyptian names of provinces and cities deduced from Coptic authorities.

Commentationes Herodoteæ, scribebat FRID. CREUZER. *Ægyptiaca et Hellenica*, pars 1. Lips. 1819. A series of most acute and learned illustrations of different points in Egyptian antiquity, introduced by different passages of Herodotus.

The section in † HEEREN, *Ideas upon the Politics*, etc. 1828, vol. ii. p. 2. concerning the Egyptians; and particularly the introduction on hieroglyphic writing. For the best representations of the Egyptian monuments, we are indebted to the French expedition. Those of Denon in his *Voyage en Égypte*, are far superior to those of Pococke and Norden; but Denon's, in their turn, have been greatly surpassed in the magnificent work:

Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, P. 1, 2, 3. P. 1. contains the monuments of upper Egypt, from the frontiers of Nubia to Thebes; P. 2, 3. contain the monuments of Thebes alone.

BELZONI, *Researches in Egypt*, London, 1824, with atlas.

† MINUTOLI, *Journey to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, and Egypt*, 1824.

L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Nubia*, London, 1819.

F. C. GAU, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, Paris, 1824. A worthy continuation of the great French work on Egypt.

FR. CAILLAUD, *Voyage à Méroé et au Fleuve Blanc*, Paris, 1825, contains the description of the monuments of Meroe.

1. The commencement of political civilization in Egypt reaches far beyond the times of history; for even in the days of Abraham, and still more so in those of Moses, the internal constitution

Early civil-
ization of
Egypt:

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seems to have been so complete, that, necessarily, a long period must have elapsed to raise the nation to that degree of civilization at which we see it had then arrived. It may, therefore, be safely asserted, that Egypt ranks among the most ancient countries of our globe in which political associations existed; although we cannot determine with equal certainty whether they did not exist in even earlier times in India.

of India.

Causes of
its early ci-
vilization.

2. The causes which conduced to render Egypt at so early a period a civilized country, are to be sought for partly in its physical constitution, partly in its situation; and Egypt, therefore, must be considered not abstractedly, but in connexion with the rest of Africa. It is the only tract in the whole of northern Africa situated on a large uninterrupted navigable stream; were not that the case, Egypt, like the other countries under the same parallel in this quarter of the globe, would be a mere desert. To this must be added two extraordinary circumstances: on the one hand, the river in its floods so perfectly prepares the soil, that to scatter the seed is almost the only labour of the husbandman; and yet, on the other hand, so many obstacles stand in the way of the improvement of agriculture, (by the necessity of canals, dams, etc.) that the invention of men must

the Nile:

commerce.

necessarily have been awakened. When agriculture, and the knowledge necessary for its perfection had introduced a certain degree of civilization in Egypt, the situation of that country, between Asia and Africa, and in the neighbourhood of the rich land of gold and spices, must have favoured the commerce and intercourse of nations; hence

in all ages Egypt appears to have been one of the chief seats of the inland or caravan trade.

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3. It is proved, therefore, that in the fertile vale of the Nile, the course of things must have been very different from what it was in the deserts of Libya. Several small states appear to have formed themselves in that vale long before there was any great Egyptian kingdom. The origin of these, as might be supposed, is wrapped in obscurity, which history can no longer completely clear up. It is deduced, however, from monuments and records, that upper Egypt was first the seat of civilization, which, ascending from the south, spread, by the settlement of colonies, towards the north. It is probable that this took place in consequence of the migration of some tribe different from that of the negroes, as is proved by the representations, both in sculpture and in painting, found on the yet remaining monuments of Egypt.

Egyptian
civilization
came from
the south.

4. The records of the high antiquity of political civilization, not only in India, but likewise in Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, particularly in Meroe, and the evident vestiges of ancient intercourse between those southern races of our globe, prove with sufficient evidence the truth of such migrations, although they cannot be chronologically defined. It is beyond all doubt, however, that religion had no small share in producing them. The national union in Egypt not only remained, in later times, entirely dependent upon the religion, but was also originally grounded upon it. Hence all advances towards political civilization must have depended, if not solely, at least prin-

Migrations
from the
south.

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cipally, on the caste of priests and on their extension.

General developement of the idea of the division into castes. First origin of castes proceeding from the difference of the tribes settled in a country, and of their mode of life.—Farther progress in despotic and in theocratic kingdoms.—Application to Egypt and to the Egyptian caste of priests, as an original civilized tribe.

A caste of priests introduce their religion and civilization in Egypt.

5. The peculiarity of this caste was the worship of certain deities, the principal of which were Ammon, Osiris, and Phtha, compared by the Greeks with their Jupiter, Bacchus, and Vulcan. The spread of this worship, which was always connected with temples, affords, therefore, the most evident vestiges of the spread of the caste itself; and those vestiges combined with the records of the Egyptians, lead us to the conclusion, that this caste was a tribe which migrated from the south above Meroe in Ethiopia, and by the establishment of inland colonies around the temples founded by them, gradually extended and made the worship of their gods the dominant religion in Egypt.

Proof of the accuracy of the above theory deduced from monuments and the express testimonies concerning the origin of Thebes and Ammon from Meroe; it might have been inferred from the preservation of the worship of Ammon in the last place. Memphis, again, and other cities in the vale of the Nile, are known to have been founded from Thebes.

Nomes.

6. This supposition, conformable to the usual progress of population, receives corroboration from the very ancient division of the country into districts, or nomes. This division was intimately connected with the chief temples, each of which represented a separate settlement of the caste of priests; so that the inhabitants of every nome

belonged to the chief temple, and participated in the worship there celebrated.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

7. To the gradual extension of that civilized tribe, which comprised, not only the caste of the priests, but, no doubt, also that of the warriors, and perhaps some others, may be attributed the formation of several small states along the banks of the Nile, the central point of each of which was always such a settlement as has been before described; although each state consisted both of the aboriginal tribes of the neighbourhood, and those that had migrated into the country. The bond which united every separate state was, therefore, as in most of those formed in the infancy of mankind, a common worship, in which all the members participated. But what, by reason of the peculiarities of soil and of climate, could not take place in southern Africa, took place in Egypt: agriculture, and the perfection of that art, became the great support of civilization; and, as the true foundation of states, the principal political object of the ruling caste.

Separate
states
founded
in Egypt:

Refutation of the idea, that the Egyptian priests were in possession of great speculative knowledge; since their knowledge rather had constant reference to practical life, and, therefore, was in their hands the *instrumentum dominationis* over the populace, by which they rendered themselves indispensable to the people, and kept them in a state of dependence.—Explanation of the close reference which their gods, their astronomical and mathematical sciences had to agriculture.

8. According to Manetho's catalogues, these separate Egyptian states existed first in upper and middle Egypt; in the former were found Thebes, Elephantine, This, and Heraclea; in the latter, Memphis. It is only in the last division

Manetho's
account of
them:

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

of his work that we meet with states in lower Egypt, such as Tanis, Mendes, Bubastis, and Sebennytus.

To these states, therefore, no doubt, belong the 330 kings after Menes, whose names the priests read to Herodotus; as also those whom Diodorus mentions as reigning previous to Sesostris; among whom are remarked Busiris II. founder of Thebes, and Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis. Eusebius and Syncellus have preserved from Manetho the names of several of those kings, which Marsham in particular has endeavoured to compare and arrange.

obscurity
of their
chronology.

9. In the absence of a certain and continuous chronology, it is impossible to determine with any certainty which of these states were contemporary, and which succeeded the others. There can be no question that Thebes was, if not the most, one of the most ancient; more ancient than Memphis, which was founded by the former city. According to the natural order of things, some of these states were wealthy and mighty, and absorbed the others. Even at this early period, Thebes and Memphis towered above the others.

This and Elephantine appear to have been united to Thebes; as were the states of lower Egypt to Memphis.

Memphis a
powerful
state in Jo-
seph's time;
about 1800.

10. The Mosaic records prove, that even in Joseph's time the state of Memphis (the real place, it appears, of his residence, not On, or Heliopolis) comprised middle and lower Egypt: it possessed a numerous and brilliant court, castes of priests and warriors; its agriculture was flourishing, and several of its institutions indicated a deeply-rooted civilization. But when Joseph had established slavery in that state; when the class of free proprietors was destroyed, by constituting the king sole landholder, with the exception of the

priests, the revolutions which already threatened the kingdom must have assumed a more awful character of danger.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

11. These revolutions proceeded from abroad. Egypt, surrounded on all sides by nomad races, had often suffered from their irruptions; sometimes they burst from the south, at others from the east. But never were those invasions more frequent and more durable, than in the period immediately subsequent to Joseph. Lower Egypt was overrun by the bedouin Arabs, whose chieftains, called by the Egyptians *Hyksos*, settled in the country, fortified Avaris, or Pelusium, and extended their dominion up to Memphis, where probably they established their residence. They are depicted as the oppressors of the religion, and of the caste of priests; but when we consider that Moses flourished in their time, we can but infer that,—somewhat similar to the Mongols in China,—they must have gradually adopted the Egyptian manners and civilization. They do not appear, however, to have possessed themselves of Thebes in upper Egypt; and it is highly probable, that the long struggle against them was never, or at least only for a short time, suspended.

Invasions
by the
nomad

Hyksos, or
Bedouins.

The dominion of the Arabian Hyksos falls between B. C. 1800—1600; and consequently was contemporary with Moses and the exodus of the Jews. Josephus gives 500 years to their dominion, in which he probably comprises the long periods of earlier wars.

12. Defeat, and final expulsion of the Hyksos from upper Egypt by Thumosis king of Thebes. The consequence of this event was not only the restoration of freedom and independence to

Expulsion
of the
Hyksos:

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

and rising
splendour
of Egypt.

Egypt, but also the union of the different states into one kingdom; as the rulers of Thebes now became lords of all Egypt. This expulsion of the Hyksos, which in itself cannot be considered otherwise than as a vast national effort, must have been the more deeply impressed on the memory of the people, as it led to the foundation of the subsequent splendid period of the empire.

The expulsion of the Hyksos appears to have been one of the chief subjects on which the Egyptian artists exercised their talents: it is supposed to have been represented upon one of the large temples in Thebes. Denon *pl.* 133.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the Sesostridæ until the sole dominion of Psammetichus, from B. C. 1600—650.

For this period the sources are the same as for the foregoing; and the history still preserves the character of records consigned in hieroglyphics. To this period belongs the line of kings subsequent to Sesostris, given both by Herodotus and Diodorus. Those two historians are found to agree pretty nearly, if we regard Herodotus's line of kings, not as uninterrupted, but as the fragments of a series deduced solely from public monuments: this will be demonstrated by the following table, in which the predecessors of Sesostris have likewise been indicated.

HERODOTUS.

Menes.

He was followed by 330 kings belonging to the previous period, concerning which our information is very incomplete: among those sovereigns were 18 Ethiopians, and 1 queen named Nitocris.

DIODORUS.

Menes.

Followed by 52 successors, ranging over a period of more than 1400 years.

Busiris I. and 8 successors; the last of whom was

Busiris II. the founder of Thebes.

Osymandyas and 8 successors; the last of whom was

HERODOTUS.

DIODORUS.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.*Uchoreus*, the founder of
Memphis.*Ægyptus*, grandson of the
foregoing. After the lapse of
12 generations of men,*Mæris*.

7 generations of men.

Sesostris or *Sesoosis*.*Sesostris II.* son of the fore-
going : he assumed his father's
name.Interval comprising several
generations of men.*Amasis*, and the Ethiopian*Actisanus*.*Mendes* or *Manes*, the
builder of the labyrinth.Anarchy which lasted 5 ge-
nerations of men.*Proteus* or *Cetes*, in the time
of the Trojan war.*Remphis*, son of the fore-
going.7 generations of men, in
the course of which flourished
Nileus, from whom the Nile
took its name.*Chemmis* or *Chembes*, from
Memphis, builder of the great
pyramid.*Cephren*, brother to the fore-
going, builder of one pyramid.*Mycerinus*, son of *Chemmis*,
builder of one pyramid.*Bochoris* the legislator.Interval of several genera-
tions of men.*Sabaco* the Ethiopian.

Dodecarchy.

Psammetichus of Sais, sole
ruler.*Mæris*.*Sesostris*.*Pheron*, the son of *Sesostris*.*Proteus*, in the time of the
Trojan war.*Rhampsinitus*.*Cheops*, builder of the great
pyramid.*Cephres*, brother to the
foregoing, builder of one pyra-
mid.*Mycerinus*, son of *Cheops*,
builder of one pyramid.*Asychis* the legislator.*Anysis*, who was blind.*Sabaco*, the Ethiopian.*Anysis*, king for the second
time.*Sethos*, a priest of Vulcan.

Dodecarchy.

Psammetichus of Sais, sole
ruler.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

This comparative table demonstrates evidently, not only that Herodotus's line is often interrupted, but likewise that it is impossible to establish any continuous chronology, since Diodorus, once and again, leaves the number of generations undetermined. Of great importance, nevertheless, attaches to the date fixed by Herodotus, (ii. 13.) where he declares that king Mæris flourished 900 years before his own visit to Egypt: (consequently about B. C. 1500 and 1450.) And if, as it is highly probable, that the reign of Sesostris was the 15th century B. C. (see *Zoega de Obelisks*) it cannot be denied but that we have some general epochs of Egyptian history, which we must remain content so long as no era can be ascertained on the monuments. It should likewise be observed that the discrepancy between the names of the kings mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus, and those furnished by Manetho, may be accounted for by the fact, that the sovereigns were distinguished by different names on the monuments and in common history.

Of the dynasties of Manetho, the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, belong to this period; more especially the two first, which contain the most important of the Pharaohs.

Brilliant
period of
the Pharaohs.

1. The following period, until near its termination, was the brilliant age of Egypt, during which there can be no doubt that the whole country constituted one empire; the kings being represented to us as sovereign lords of the world. And, indeed, it was naturally to be expected that after the expulsion of the strangers, a period should ensue, in which mighty forces were to be developed, and therefore directed to extensive conquests? The capital of the empire was, without doubt, Thebes, the great monuments of which were erected in this period; that honour, however, seems to have alternately belonged to Memphis, Herodotus's line of kings being deduced from the monuments of that city, and more especially from the temple of Phtha.

The more powerful of the Pharaohs of this period, and the founders of the most important monuments of upper Egypt, which their names are found, are the following: belong to the 18th dynasty, somewhere about 1600—1500.

Amenophis I. His name found likewise beyond Egypt on the temple of Amada, in Nubia.

Thutmosis I. Commencement of the expulsion of the Hyksos.

Amenophis II. The Memnon of the Greeks. Complete expulsion of the Hyksos, and commencement of several of the great edifices. His name is likewise found on the monuments of Thebes, Elephantine, and even in Nubia, on the distant temple of Soleb. Builder of the palace of Luxor.

Thutmosis II. His name found in Carnac, and on the obelisk at the Lateran.

Ramesses I. Supposed to be the Danaus of the Greeks. Expelled by his brother :

Ramesses II. Miamun. Builder of the palace of Medinet-Abu in Thebes. One of the royal graves that have been opened belongs to this king.

Amenophis III. Renewed invasion of the Hyksos; he flees before them into Ethiopia; but returns victorious with his son Ramesses.

Belonging to the 19th dynasty, between 1500 and 1400.

Ramesses III. called the great, and likewise *Sesostris*; founder of the dynasty, liberator of Egypt, and a great conqueror. His name and titles, his wars and triumphs, are found on the temples and palaces of Luxor and Carnac, in Thebes and Nubia. His son and follower :

Ramesses IV. Pheron, rules long in peace. His name is found in the great pillared hall of the palace of Carnac, and on many other buildings.

Among his successors but few names have been preserved until we come to Scheschonk or Sisac, of the 22nd dynasty, between 970 and 950; he took Jerusalem under the reign of Rehoboam, and therefore furnishes a fixed date.

† R. V. L. (RUEHLE VON LILIENSTERN,) *Graphic illustrations of the most ancient History and Geography of Egypt and Ethiopia, with Atlas*, 1827. A work containing every thing necessary towards understanding the discoveries hitherto made in this field.

2. For this splendour, the empire was principally indebted to Sesostris, son of Amenophis. That prince may be properly called the great king of the Egyptians. No one will

Splendid
reign of
Sesostris.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

credit as literally true the narrative of his deeds, exaggerated as they were by the traditions of the priests, or represented, as they still seem to be to this day, on the buildings of Thebes; but who can doubt the existence of a monarch of whom so many and such various monuments within and without Egypt bear witness?

Critical estimation of the accounts of the 9 years' campaign, and of the conquests of Sesostris. His arms were principally directed against the wealthy countries of commerce; probably by land against Ethiopia, Asia Minor, and part of Thrace; by sea against Arabia Felix, perhaps even as far as the Indian peninsula. Can the performance of these exploits be deemed improbable, in an age when western Asia did not contain a single great empire? The vast undertakings attributed to Sesostris in the interior of his dominions; extensive buildings, canals, division of the land, and imposition of taxes, according to a regular survey, prove that he must have been the sovereign of all Egypt.

State of
the consti-
tution.

3. Notwithstanding the great change wrought in affairs, the same general character remained stamped upon the constitution, that of a sacerdotal aristocracy combined with a monarchy. Although the Egyptian kings, like the Indian princes, were distinct from the priests, yet their power was in various ways confined by that caste. A high priest shared the royal authority; the king was shackled by religious ceremonies, both in public and private life; he was obliged to evince his veneration for the ruling worship by the erection of public monuments; the offices of the state were in the hands of the priests. It cannot be denied but that on the personal character of the king depended much of his power; but how strong must have been this aristocracy, when even successful conquerors were obliged to conciliate its approbation!

4. It was also at this time probably that the domestic relations of the people, the division into castes, was brought to completion. The sacerdotal caste in possession of all intellectual knowledge, remained for that reason in possession also of the offices of the state. The caste of warriors could hardly have assumed its complete form before the country was united into one empire: in like manner that of mariners could not have been completely established before the canals were excavated; although the origin of all may have been of a much earlier date.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Division
into castes.

Comparison of the accounts given by Herodotus and Diodorus of the division into castes. Not only precedence in time, but likewise the discrepancies declare in favour of Herodotus.

5. It appears, therefore, that the most prosperous period of the kingdom of the Pharaohs must be placed somewhere between B. C. 1500—900: although, according to Diodorus, even this period was interrupted by a long anarchy. The splendour of the empire was obscured towards the end. Sabaco, a foreign conqueror from Ethiopia, (probably from Meroe,) subjugated Egypt; after his departure from the country, a priest of Phtha, Sethos his name, seated himself contrary to precedent upon the throne: Sethos was, therefore, considered a usurper; he offended the caste of warriors, and could not have escaped the dangers of irruption threatened by the Assyrian, Sennacherib, had not a pestilence compelled the invader and his host to retreat.

Prosperous
period of
Egypt:
B. C. 1500
—900.

714.

The dynasty of Sabaco, Seuechus, and Tarhaco in Meroe, who as conquerors subjected upper Egypt, is comprised between B. C. 800—700. Their names likewise have been already dis-

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

covered on monuments, some at Abydos in Egypt, others in Nubia.

Dodecar-
chy.

6. At last, however, the Egyptian empire fell, and an oligarchy arose; (or perhaps return was only made to the division of the earlier kingdoms;) twelve princes sharing among themselves the sovereign power. A certain degree of unity seems to have existed at first in this government; but quarrels soon sprung up among the princes, and they compelled one of their number, Psammetichus of Sais, to take to flight. The exiled prince, supported by Greek and Carian mercenaries, contrived to avenge his wrongs; he drove away his rivals, and possessed himself of the sole power.

About
B. C. 650.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the reign of Psammetichus alone to the Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. B. C. 650—525¹.

The principal sources of the history are still found in Herodotus, l. ii. c. 125, etc. his statements, however, are no longer derived from hieroglyphics; they are purely historical. During the reign of Psammetichus, the Greeks who had migrated into Egypt gave rise to the caste of interpreters, *ἐρμηνεῖς*, who acted both as ciceroni for strangers, and as brokers between the Egyptians and Greeks: these people were enabled to give information respecting the history of the country. It is not, therefore, surprising that Herodotus should assure us, that from this time the history was authentic.—The names of the succeeding Pharaohs are likewise found on the monuments; in the erection of which they rivalled their predecessors.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

1. From this epoch Egypt remained uninterruptedly one kingdom, the capital of which was Memphis, although Sais, in lower Egypt, was the general residence of the royal family. Strangers, and more particularly Greeks, admitted into Egypt; partly as mercenaries, partly as merchants. Influence of this innovation upon the national character, and upon the political system in particular. A spirit of conquest regularly inherited by the Egyptian kings, is directed principally against Asia; hence the formation of a navy, and wars with the great rising monarchies in Asia. Con-

Revolutions in
Egypt.

¹ Contemporary: Asia: rise and fall of the Chaldeo-Babylonian empire; rise of the Persian monarchy.—Rome: kings from Numa Pompilius to Servius Tullius.—Athens: Draco; Solon; Pisistratus.—Jews: the last period and fall of the kingdom of Judah; Babylonian captivity.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

tinued, but declining influence of the sacerdotal caste, and proofs of the veneration of the kings for the priesthood deduced from the erection and embellishment of temples, particularly of that consecrated to Phtha in Memphis.

Psammetichus d.
B. C. 610.

2. *Psammetichus*. He obtains the sole power through the assistance of Greek and Carian mercenaries, who now remain as a standing army in the country. The caste of Egyptian warriors offended emigrate, for the most part, to Ethiopia, where they settle. The southern portico of the temple of Phtha is erected, and projects of conquest are formed against Asia.

Neco d.
594.

3. *Neco*, son and successor of *Psammetichus*. His extended plans of conquest. First formation of a naval power; and unsuccessful attempt to unite by a canal the Mediterranean with the Red sea. Conquests in Asia as far as the Euphrates; but quick secession of the conquered, in consequence of the loss of the battle of Circesium. Circumnavigation of Africa undertaken at his command by the Phœnicians, and successfully performed.

606.

Psammis d.
458.

4. *Psammis* his son and successor. Expedition against Ethiopia, and conquests in the interior of Africa.

Apries d.
563.

5. Reign of *Apries*, (the Pharaoh-hophra of the Hebrews.) Plans of conquest against Asia;—siege of Sidon, and naval battle with the Tyrians;—expedition against Cyrene in Africa; its fatal result. A revolution caused thereby in Egypt, the inhabitants of which were averse to foreign wars, carried on mostly by mercenary aliens: the revolution headed by Amasis. In the civil war

which Apries now waged with his mercenaries against the Egyptians commanded by Amasis, the former lost his throne and life; and with him fell the family of Psammetichus, which had hitherto reigned.

6. The usurper *Amasis* took possession of the sovereign power; and although he had to contend with a strong party, who despised him on account of his low origin, he contrived by popular measures, and by the respect he showed to the sacerdotal caste, to support himself upon the throne.—His monuments, both at Sais and Memphis.—The Egyptians and Greeks become better acquainted and more closely connected, partly in consequence of the marriage of the king with a Greek woman; but principally in consequence of the mouths of the Nile being opened to the Greek merchants, and of the cession of Naucratis as a factory for their merchandise. Great and beneficial consequences for Egypt, which, under the long reign of Amasis, reached the highest pitch of prosperity. That prince had already had disputes with the Persian conqueror, Cyrus, whose son and successor, Cambyses, led an expedition against Egypt, just at the time that Amasis, luckily for himself, departed this life.

Amasis d.
B. C. 525.

7. His son Psammenitus, last of the line of the Egyptian Pharaohs, is attacked by Cambyses in the very first year of his reign. After one single battle, fought at Pelusium, and a short siege of Memphis, the empire of the Pharaohs is overthrown, and Egypt merges into a Persian province. More particularly did the powerful caste of the priests feel the hatred of the conqueror;

Psammeni-
tus.

525.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

and the persecution to which they were subjected must be attributed rather to policy than blind fanaticism.

Egypt a
province of
Persia.

8. Condition and fate of Egypt as a Persian province. After the death of Cambyzes, the country received a Persian governor, and consequently became a satrapy. Immediately after the first tempest of war had blown over, Egypt was treated with mildness by the Persians. The country paid a moderate tribute, together with some royal gifts, among others the produce of the fisheries in lake Mœris; nevertheless repeated revolts occurred, which may be principally attributed to the hatred and influence of the sacerdotal caste. The first took place under Darius Hystaspis, and was quelled by Xerxes. An increase of tribute was the consequence. The second, under king Inarus, fomented and supported by the Athenians, happened during the reign of Artaxerxes I.; it was quelled by Megabyzus. The third occurred under Darius II. and in consequence of the support which the Egyptians received from the Greeks, was of longer duration than either of the former, the throne of the Pharaoh's being in some measure restored.

Revolts
B.C. 488 to
484.

463 to 456.

414.

This third secession of the Egyptians lasted till 354. During this period various kings were appointed; Amyrtæus, *d.* 408; Psammetichus, about 400; Nephreus, about 397; Pausiris, *d.* 375; Nectanebus I. *d.* 365; Tachos, *d.* 363; Nectanebus II, conquered by Artaxerxes III. 354.

CARTHAGINIANS.

Sources. The first great republic which ancient records mention as applying both to trade and war, is undoubtedly a phenomenon fully deserving the attention of the historical inquirer: our knowledge, however, of the Carthaginian history is unfortunately very deficient, as we possess no author who has made it the principal object of his attention. The immediate subject of the Greek and Roman writers was the history of their own country, and they mention that of Carthage only so far as it is connected with their main topic. This observation applies not only to Polybius and Diodorus, but also to Livy and Appian: even the information given by Justin, the only author who says any thing concerning the early state of Carthage, is unfortunately very scanty, although taken from Theopompus. (Cf. *Comment. de fontibus JUSTINI in Commentat. Soc. Gotting.* vol. xv.) Moreover, as Herodotus here fails us, we have not the writings of any author whatever who witnessed Carthage in the days of her prosperity; Polybius did not see that country till after the decline of its power; the other historians, wrote long afterwards. But although an uninterrupted history of Carthage does not exist, we are enabled to trace the main outlines of the picture of that state.—The modern writers on Carthage are:

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

HENDRICH, *de Republica Carthaginiensium*, 1664. A useful compilation.

† *History of the Republic of Carthage*, 2 vols. Franckfort, 1781. A mere history of the wars.

DAMP MARTIN, *Histoire de la Rivalité de Carthage et de Rome*, t. i. ii. Very superficial.

† W. BOETTICHER, *History of Carthage*, part i. Berlin, 1827. The best work on the subject; in which use has been made of modern researches.

The section concerning the Carthaginians in HEEREN, *Ideas*, etc. vol. ii. 1825.

The history of Carthage may be conveniently divided into *three* periods: I. From the foundation of the city to the commencement of the wars

Periods, of
Carthagi-
nian his-
tory.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Sardinia ;
Balears ;
Corsica ;
part of Si-
cily :

Canaries ;
Madeira.

Conquests
of Mago
and his fa-
mily.

Carthage
connected
with Persia,
B. C. 550
—480.

Sea fight
between the
Carthagi-
nians and
Phocæans.

on islands, and to subject them to their dominion. Those lying in the western part of the Mediterranean occupied the first place in their plan of conquest, which was completely executed in Sardinia, the Balears, and other small islands, perhaps likewise in Corsica ; in Sicily, however, they were unable to succeed to the full extent of their views. There is also every probability that the Canary islands and Madeira were entirely in their possession. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, in the times previous to the wars with Rome, were in the practice of establishing separate settlements on the main land, partly in Spain, and partly on the western shore of Africa. In the latter, they adopted the policy of their ancestors, the Phœnicians, making the settlements so small, and confining them within such narrow bounds, that the mother country might always ensure their dependence.

6. The glory of extending the territory of Carthage, by important conquests, belongs principally to the family of Mago, who, together with his two sons and six grandsons, established the dominion of the republic in Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. This occurred about the same time that Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius were laying the foundation of the Persian monarchy, with which Carthage even then entered into connexion. The Carthaginians, therefore, made their first appearance, as extensive conquerors, in the fourth century from the foundation of their commonwealth ; and it is at that period that mention is made of their first naval engagement in which the Phocæans were their adversaries. In the same period may be

dated the establishment of their colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules formed by Hanno and Himilco—both probably sons of Mago;—by the former on the coast of Africa, by the latter on that of Spain. To the same period likewise is referred the first commercial treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans, in which the former appear as already masters of Sardinia, Africa, and a portion of Sicily.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Colonies
without the
straits of
Gibraltar.
B. C. 539.

First treaty
with Rome,
509.

7. To complete these conquests, and to preserve them when completed, the formation and support of vast fleets and armies were of indispensable necessity. According to the usual practice of those nations who apply both to trade and to war, the Carthaginian armies were composed for the most part of hirelings. No nation, however, followed this plan so extensively as the Carthaginians, for to them half Africa and Europe furnished warriors.—Description of a Carthaginian army; developement of the advantages and disadvantages of its organization.—Organization of their navy. The state supported very numerous fleets of war ships, with a vast crowd of slaves who wrought at the oar, and were it seems public property.

Arts mili-
tary and
naval of
Carthage.

8. The political constitution of Carthage, like that of all wealthy trading states, was an aristocracy composed of the noble and the opulent, although at every period combined to a certain degree with democracy. The affairs of the state were confided to the hands of the two suffetes or kings,—who, in all probability, held their office for life—and to those of the senate, (*βουλῇ*) which contained within itself a more confined council

Constitu-
tion of Car-
thage:

suffetes;

senate;

state coun-
cil;

PERIOD BEFORE CYRUS. (the *γερουσία*). The election of the magistrates depended on the people at large, who shared the legislative power with the suffetes. Civil and military power were usually divided: the offices of general and magistrate not being always as at Rome united in the same individuals,—although such an instance might not be of impossible occurrence:—on the contrary, to each military chief was appointed a committee from the senate, on which he was more or less dependent.

Military and civil functions generally divided.

Supreme court of the hundred: 9. The high state tribunal of the HUNDRED was instituted as a barrier to the constitution against the attempts of the more powerful aristocrats, particularly the military leaders; indeed the brilliancy of Mago's conquests seemed to threaten the republic with military rule; and immediately previous to his time one of the generals, Malchus, had actually made an attempt to subject Carthage. The object of the institution was no doubt attained; but in later times the council assumed to itself a power which increased to absolute despotism. It is not improbable that this court likewise constituted the close committee (the *γερουσία*) of the senate.

its object;

its evils.

Finances of Carthage. 10. Our information respecting the financial system of the Carthaginians is extremely meagre. The principal resources of the public revenue were, it seems, the following. 1. The tribute drawn from the federate cities, and their African subjects. The former paid in money, the latter for the most part in kind; this tribute was imposed according to the will of the government, so that in pressing cases the taxed nations were obliged to give one half of their in-

Tributes from the African federates:

come. 2. The case was the same with their external provinces, particularly with Sardinia. 3. PERIOD BEFORE CYRUS.

The tribute furnished by the nomad hordes, not only by those in the Regio-Syrtyca, but at times also by those on the western side. 4. The customs levied with great severity, not only in Carthage, but likewise in all the colonies. 5. Sardinia, etc. the Syrtic hordes: dues and customs: mines.

The products of their rich mines, particularly those situate in Spain. In the consideration of the finance of the Carthaginians, it should not be forgotten that many of the nations with whom they traded, or who fought in their armies, were unacquainted with the use of money.

11. System and extent of their commerce. Trade of Carthage:

Their object was to secure a monopoly of the western trade; hence the practice of restricting the growth of their colonies, and of removing as much as possible all strangers from their staples.

Their trade was carried on partly by sea, and partly by land. Their sea trade, arising from their colonies, extended beyond the Mediterranean, certainly as far as the coasts of Britain and of Guinea. by sea to Britain and the Guinea coast;

Their land trade was carried on by caravans, consisting principally of the nomad races resident between the Syrtes: the caravans travelled westward to Ammonium and upper Egypt, southward to the land of the Garamantes, and even farther in the interior of Africa. by land to the interior of Africa.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the breaking out of the wars with Syracuse, to the commencement of those with Rome, B. C. 480—264.

Views of
Carthage
upon Sicily:

1. The principal object of Carthaginian policy during these two whole centuries, was to subdue all Sicily; this object the nation pursued with extraordinary pertinacity, often approximating to, but never obtaining complete success. The growing power of Syracuse, who likewise aimed at the sole possession of the island, laid the foundation of that national hatred which now arose between the Sicilian Greeks and the Carthaginians.

roul at Hi-
mera by
Gelon,
B. C. 480.

2. First attempt, arising out of the league framed with king Xerxes I. at his irruption into Greece. Gelon of Syracuse, in a victory more decisive even than that won by Themistocles over the Persians at Salamis, routs the Carthaginians near Himera, and compels them to accede to a disgraceful peace.

General ex-
tension of
the Cartha-
ginian em-
pire in
Africa,
480—410.

3. This defeat is followed by a period of tranquillity lasting 70 years, during which we know little about Carthage: all that we can say with any probability is, that in the mean time the struggle for territory between Cyrene and Carthage commenced and terminated to the advantage of the latter state, whose dominion was generally extended and confirmed in Africa by wars with the aboriginal natives.

War in
Sicily re-
newed, 410.

4. But the accession of Dionysius I. to the throne of Syracuse, and the ambitious project

formed, both by him and his successors, of subjecting to their rule all Sicily and Magna-Grecia, kindled once more the torch of war, which, after smouldering for a time, now flamed with new vigour.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Repeated and bloody wars with Dionysius I. between the years 410—368. Neither party able to expel the other: terms of the last peace; that each party should remain in possession of what he then occupied. Second commercial treaty with Rome.

Crafty advantage taken by the Carthaginians of the internal commotions at Syracuse during and subsequent to the reign of Dionysius II: they endeavour to obtain their end; but are thwarted by the heroism of Timoleon, 345—340.

A new and frightful war with Agathocles, the seat of which is transferred from Sicily into Africa itself; it ends at last to the advantage of Carthage, 311—307.

The war with Pyrrhus, 277—275, whose ambition gave rise to an alliance between Carthage and Rome, contributed likewise to increase the preponderance of the Carthaginians in Sicily: and probably the perseverance of that people, and their skill in profiting by circumstances would at last have enabled them to attain their object, had not the seeds of war been thereby scattered between Carthage and Rome.

5. What effect these Sicilian wars had upon the state we are not informed. They were probably regarded in Carthage as a beneficial channel to carry off all popular fermentation;—nevertheless, two attempts, both unsuccessful, were made by the great men to overthrow the constitution; first by Hanno, 340, and afterwards by Bomilcar, 308.—At the breaking out, however, of the war with Rome, the commonwealth was so formidable and mighty, that even the finances of the state do not appear to have been at all affected; a circumstance of the highest importance. What consequence was it to Carthage whether 100,000 barbarians more or less existed in the

Two attempts at revolution, B. C. 340; 308.

Excellent state of the Carthaginian finances at the beginning of the first Punic war.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

world, so long as there remained plenty of men willing to suffer themselves to be sold, and she possessed money to purchase them?

THIRD PERIOD.

From the beginning of the wars with Rome, to the downfall of Carthage, B. C. 264—146.

Causes of
the Punic
wars.

1. The wars between Carthage and Rome were the necessary consequences of a desire of extended territory in two conquering nations; any one might have foreseen the struggle between the two rivals as soon as their conquests should once begin to clash. It is, therefore, a question of little importance, to inquire who was the aggressor; and although Rome may not be entirely cleared of that charge, we cannot help observing that, according to the principles of sound policy, the security of Italy was hardly compatible with the sole dominion of the Carthaginians over the island of Sicily.

First war with Rome, 264—241, (23 years,) waged for the possession of Sicily, and decided almost before its commencement by Hiero's passing over to the Roman side¹.

Fatal consequences
of the first

2. This war cost the republic Sicily and the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, by which the

¹ For the history of it see below, in the Roman history, Book V. Period ii. parag. 2 seq.

fate of their other external possessions was already predetermined. But that which appeared at the first view to threaten the greatest danger, was the total exhaustion of their finances, a circumstance which ceases to surprise when we consider how many fleets had been destroyed and refitted, how many armies had been annihilated and renewed. In such a struggle as this Carthage had never before been engaged; and the immediate consequences were more terrific even than the war itself.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Punic war
to Carthage.

3. The impossibility of paying the mercenaries produces a mutiny among the troops, which rapidly grows into a rebellion of the subject nations, who had been most cruelly oppressed during the contest. The consequence was a civil war of three years and a half, which probably would have spared the Romans the trouble of destroying Carthage, had not the state been snatched from ruin by the heroism of Hamilcar.

Dreadful
civil war,
B. C. 240—
237.

This war, which lasted from 240 to 237, produced permanent consequences in the state; it was then that arose the feud between Hamilcar and Hanno the great, which compelled Hamilcar to seek for support against the senate in the popular party.

4. The revolt spread abroad; it reached Sardinia, and caused the loss of that most important island, of which the Romans, flushed with power, took possession, in spite of the terms of the peace.

Sardinia is
lost, 237.

5. The influence of the house of the Barcas, backed by the popular party against the senate, now gets the upper hand in Carthage; the first fruit of which is the vast and new project of repairing the loss of Sicily and Sardinia by the con-

Rise of the
house of the
Barcas:

vast projects
upon Spain,

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

quest of Spain, a country in which the Carthaginians had already some possessions and commercial transactions. The immediate object of the house of the Barcas was the support of their family and their party; but the Spanish silver mines were soon to furnish the republic with the means of renewing the contest with Rome.

executed by
Hamilcar
and Has-
drubal,
B.C. 237—
221.

6. In the nine years during which Hamilcar commanded, and the eight during which Hasdrubal, his son-in-law and successor, was at the head of the army, the whole of the south of Spain, as far as the Iberus, was brought under subjection to Carthage, either by negotiation or force of arms.

By treaty
with the
Romans
the Ebro is
fixed as the
boundary of
their pos-
sessions in
Spain, 226.

The further progress of the Carthaginians was stopped only by a treaty with the Romans, in which the Iberus was fixed upon as a frontier line, and the freedom of Saguntum acknowledged. Hasdrubal crowned his victories as a general and as a statesman by the foundation of

Carthagena
founded.

new Carthage, (Carthagena,) which was to be the future seat of Carthaginian power in the newly conquered country. Hasdrubal having fallen by the hand of an assassin in the year 221, the party of the Barcas succeeded in appointing as his successor Hamilcar's son, Hannibal, a young man of one and twenty. Hannibal found every thing already prepared in Spain for the furtherance of the hereditary project of his family, a renewed contest with Rome; and the vigour with which

Hannibal
succeeds to
the com-
mand of the
army, 221;

and begins
the second
Punic war,
218.

the project was pursued demonstrates how preponderant must have been, at that time, the influence of the Barcas' at Carthage. Had the commonwealth attended to the navy with the same ardour as their great general did to the land

service, the fate of Rome might haply have been changed.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Second war with Rome, 218—201, (17 years,) first in Italy and Spain, afterwards, from 203, in Africa itself².

7. Until the theatre of action was transferred to Africa, the second war cost the republic much less than the first; the expenses being principally defrayed by Spain and Italy. There was, however, a strong faction at home, headed by Hanno, and clamorous for peace;—who can say they were in the wrong? As might be expected, the family of the Barcas were for war, and their influence carried the day. That general who, without hardly any support from Carthage, for 15 years kept his footing in the country of his powerful foes as much by policy as by arms, extorts our admiration. It cannot, however, be denied, that during the struggle at least one favourable opportunity was slipped of making peace; a neglect for which the hero of Cannæ paid dearly enough, by the defeat of his darling project.

Internal
state of
Carthage
during the
second Pu-
nic war.

8. By the second peace with Rome, Carthage was deprived of all her possessions out of Africa, and her fleet was delivered into the hands of the Romans. She was now to be a mere trading city under the tutelage of Rome. But Carthage found by this peace her most formidable foe on the soil of Africa itself. Massinissa had been elevated to the dignity of king of Numidia; and his endeavours to form his nomads into an agricultural people, and to collect them into cities, must have

A disgrace-
ful peace
the result of
the war.

Massinissa
of Numidia
a new in-
strument of
Roman po-
licy.

² See below, the history of this war in the Roman history: Book V. Period 2. paragr. 6 seqq.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

changed the military system that Carthage had hitherto followed. Moreover the Roman policy had taken care that the article inserted in his favour in the last treaty of peace, should be so ambiguously worded, as to leave abundant openings for dispute.

Hannibal at
the head of
affairs;

attempts to
check the
oligarchy.

9. After this disgraceful peace, the family of the Barcas continue to hold the power, and Hannibal is placed as supreme magistrate at the head of the republic. His attempt at a reform in the constitution and the finance, by destroying the oligarchy of the hundred by whom the finance had been debilitated. Complete as was the success with which the first blow was attended, it was soon proved that aristocratic factions are not so soon annihilated as armies.

The democratic faction to which even the Barcas owed their first elevation, was the cause of the degeneracy of the Carthaginian constitution. By that faction the legislative authority of the senate and magistrates was withdrawn and transferred to the *ordo judicum*—probably the same as the high state tribunal of the hundred—which now assumed the character of an omnipotent national inquisition; and the members being chosen for life exercised oppressive despotism. This tribunal was formed of those who had served the office of ministers of finance, with whom it shared unblushingly the revenues of the state. Hannibal destroyed this oligarchy by a law, enacting that the members should hold their office for one year; whereas they were before for life. In the reform wrought by this law in the finances it was seen, that after all wars and losses, the revenues of the republic were sufficient, not only for the usual expenditure and the payment of tribute to Rome, but also to leave a surplus in the public treasury. Ten years had hardly elapsed before Carthage was enabled to offer to pay down at once the whole of the tribute which she had engaged to furnish by instalments.

Hannibal
compelled
to fly to Sy-
ria.

10. The defeated faction, whose interests were now the same with those of Rome, joined the Ro-

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

mans, to whom they discovered Hannibal's plan of renewing the war in conjunction with Antiochus the great, king of Syria; a Roman embassy was sent over to Africa, under some other pretext, to demand that Hannibal should be given up; the Carthaginian general secretly fled to king Antiochus, at whose court he became the chief fomenter of the war against Rome, although unsuccessful in his wish to implicate the Carthaginian republic in the struggle². B. C. 195.

11. In consequence of the absence of Hannibal, Carthage fell once more under the dominion of Rome, who contrived, by taking crafty advantage of the faction, to give a show of generosity to the exercise of her power. Even the patriotic party, if we may judge by the violent steps which they took more than once against Massinissa and his partisans, seem to have been but a tool in the hands of Rome. Roman influence completely established in Carthage.

12. Disputes with Massinissa, from which originates the gradual secession of the Carthaginian territory in Africa. The manner in which this territory had been formed, facilitated the discovery of claims upon each of the component parts; and the interference of Rome, sometimes impartial, at other times partial, ensured the possession of the territory to the Numidian. The Carthaginian territory gradually dismembered.

Even in 199, a disadvantageous treaty framed with Massinissa for 50 years: nevertheless the rich province of Emporia is lost in 193.—Loss of another province unnamed, of which Massinissa inherited some claims from his father.—Abstraction of the province of Tysca, with 50 cities, about 174. Probable date of

² See hereafter the history of Syria, Book IV. Period iii. separate kingdoms, I. Seleucidæ, parag. 18; and Book V. Period ii. parag. 10 sq.

PERIOD
BEFORE
CYRUS.

Cato's embassy, who returned offended, because his decision had been rejected, and became the fomentor of a project to destroy Carthage.—New disputes about 152.—Massinissa's party is expelled Carthage; war breaks out in consequence, during which the king in his 90th year personally defeats the Carthaginians, and almost destroys by famine and sword Hasdrubal's army, which had been hemmed in; in the mean while the Roman ambassadors, who had come as mediators, followed their secret instructions and stood as spectators.

Destruction
of Car-
thage;
third Punic
war;

13. Evident as it is that the party spirit raging between Cato and Scipio Nasica was the principal motive that hastened the project of destroying Carthage, and that that project was brought to full maturity by Massinissa's last victory; yet it is difficult to unravel the web of treachery which, long before the declaration of war about to follow, had prepared the catastrophe of the great tragedy.

brought
about pro-
bably by
Roman du-
plicity.

Was the account that Cato at his return gave of the resuscitated power of Carthage consonant to the truth? was not the sudden secession of Ariobarzanes, the grandson of Syphax, who was to have led a Numidian army to defend Carthage against Massinissa—was not his secession, I say, prearranged with Rome? was not the turbulent Sisgo in the pay of Rome, he who first incited the populace to insult the Roman ambassadors, and then opportunely rescued them from the fury of the mob? These questions give rise to suspicions, although they cannot satisfactorily be answered; at any rate, it may be said, that the conduct of Rome, after war had broken out, corroborates the suspicion. The whole history of the last period proves sufficiently, that it was not so much the debased character of the nation as party spirit, and the avarice of the great men,

which produced the fall of Carthage. Advantage was taken of that party spirit and avarice by the Roman policy, which, although acting according to the dictates of blind passion, knew how to profit by dark and base intrigue⁴.

⁴ Third war with Rome and destruction of Carthage, 150—146. See hereafter the Roman history, Book V. Period ii. parag. 19 sq.

SECOND BOOK.

History of the Persian empire, from B. C. 560—330.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Sources. Preservation of historic records among the Persians themselves under the form of royal annals; origin and nature of those annals. As these have been destroyed, we are necessitated to deduce the history from foreign writers, some of whom, however, availed themselves of the Persian annals. 1. *Greeks*: their authority as writers, contemporary, but not always sufficiently acquainted with the east. ^aCTESIAS. His court history compiled from Persian annals, would be the principal work did we possess the whole; we have, however, only an extract from it preserved in Photius. ^bHERODOTUS: who probably availed himself of similar sources in some portions of his work. ^cXENOPHON. To this period of history belong, not only his *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*, but also his *Cyropædia*, or portraiture of a happy empire and accomplished ruler, according to eastern ideas, exhibited in the example of Cyrus: of use so far as pure historic records are inwoven with the narrative. ^dDIODORUS, etc. 2. *Jewish writers*. The books of *ESDRAS* and *NEHEMIAH*; and more particularly that of *ESTHER*, as containing a faithful representation of the Persian court and its manners. 3. The accounts of the later *Persian chroniclers*, *MIRKHOND* in particular, who flourished in the thirteenth century of the christian era, can have no weight in the scale of criticism; they are nevertheless interesting, inasmuch as they bring us acquainted with the ideas that the inhabitants of the east form of their early history.

The modern authors on Persian history are principally those who have written on ancient history in general: see p. 2. A treatise on Persian history, deduced from eastern sources, will be found in the *Ancient Universal History*, vol. iv.

BRISSENIUS, *de Regno Persarum*, 1591. 8vo. A very laborious compilation.

The section concerning the Persians in †HEEREN, *Ideas*, etc. vol. i. part 1.

1. State of the Persian nation previously to Cyrus; a highland people, subject to the Medes, dwelling in the mountainous parts of the province of Persis, and leading wholly, or for the most part, a nomad life. Division into ten clans, among which that of the *Pasargadæ*, the noblest and ruling horde, is particularly remarkable on account of the figure it makes in subsequent history.—The result of this division was a patriarchal government, the vestiges of which remain visible in the whole of the following history of the Persians. Permanent distinction between the tribes in reference to their mode of life, are observable even during the most flourishing period of the Persian state: three of the nobles or warriors, three of the husbandmen, and four of the shepherds. Argument thence deduced, that the history of the Persians as a dominant nation, *is that of the nobler clans alone, and of the PASARGADÆ more especially.*

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Original
condition
of the Per-
sians.

The horde
of the Pa-
sargadæ,

has the
ascendant.

2. The personal history of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, was, even in the time of Herodotus, so obscured under the veil of romance, that it was no longer possible to detect the real truth. It is, however, evident, that the course of the revolution wrought by him was, on the whole, the same as was followed in all similar empires founded in Asia. Gengis-khan, in a later age, was placed at the head of all the Mogol hordes; in the same manner was Cyrus elected chief of all the Persian tribes, by whose assistance he became a mighty conqueror, at the time that the Babylonian and Medic kingdoms of inner Asia were on the decline, and before the

CYRUS,
similar to
Gengis-
khan and
other Asi-
atic con-
querors,

founds the
Persian em-
pire about
B. C. 561.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Lydian empire, under Cræsus, had been firmly established.

Descent of Cyrus from the family of Achæmenes, (*Gemschit?*). That family belonged to the Pasargadæ tribe, and, therefore, remained the ruling house.

of the Me-
do-Bac-
trian em-
pire, de-
stroyed:
B. C. 561.
of the Ly-
dian em-
pire:
Asiatic
Greeks sub-
jected,
about 557:
of Babylon,
538.

3. Rise of the Persian dominion, in consequence of the overthrow of Medo-Bactrian empire, after the defeat of Astyages at Pasargadæ. Rapid extension by farther conquest. Subjection of Asia Minor after the victory won by Cyrus in person over Cræsus, and capture of the Greek colonies by the generals of the Persian monarch. Conquest of Babylon and all the Babylonian provinces. The Phœnician cities subject themselves of their own accord. Even in Cyrus's time, therefore, the frontiers of the Persian empire had been extended in southern Asia to the Mediterranean, to the Oxus, and to the Indus; but the campaign against the nomad races, which wander over the steppes of central Asia, was unsuccessful; and Cyrus himself fell in the contest.

He is slain
in battle
with the
Massagetæ,
529.

It cannot be denied that in the narration of the separate wars waged by Cyrus, discrepancies, no doubt, are found in Herodotus and Ctesias; those two authors, however, agree in the main facts: and indeed the differences which exist between them cannot be considered always as direct contradictions.

The Per-
sians adopt
the religion,
laws, and
civility of
the con-
quered
Medes.

4. Immediate consequences of this great revolution in respect both of the conquerors and the conquered. Among the former, even in the time of Cyrus, the civilization and luxury of the Medes, their legislation and national religion, and the sacerdotal caste of the magians, guardians of that religion, had been introduced, and the whole system of the Persian court had been modelled upon that of the Medes.

Description of Zoroaster's legislation, and of the magian national religion, according to the Zend-avesta. How far the dogmas of Zoroaster can be considered as dominant among the Persians?—Proof that they were adopted only by the nobler tribes, more particularly the Pasargadæ. Their great and beneficial influence on agriculture.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

ANQUETIL DU PERRON, *Zend-avesta, ouvrage de ZOROASTRE, traduit en François sur l'original Zend*, Paris, 1771. 4to. This work has been much improved by the critical discussions added to the German translation by J. L. KLEUKER. Compare the dissertations on Zoroaster by MEINERS and TYCHSEN, in *Comment. soc. Gotting.* and HEEREN, *Ideas*, etc. vol. i.

HYDE, *De Religione veterum Persarum*; Oxon. 1700. 4to. Replete with learned research, and the first work that excited inquiry on the subject.

† J. S. RHODE, *Sacred Traditions of the East*; Breslau, 1821. An excellent work for the study of the Zend-avesta, the magian religion, and the antiquities of the Medes and Persians.

5. First political constitution of the Persian empire under Cyrus. No general new organization; but for the most part the original institutions are preserved among the conquered, who are compelled to pay tribute. Royal officers appointed to collect the tribute are associated to the generals, who with numerous armies keep their footing in the territories of the conquered. For the support of the dominion, not only are large standing armies kept up, but recourse is frequently had to the transplantation of whole nations; while, as was the case with the Jews, some who had been formerly transplanted are restored to their country. With the same view commands are given, as in the case of the Lydians, to effect the enervation of warlike races by luxurious and effeminate education.

Expedients
adopted to
keep possession
of the
conquered
territories.

Tribute.

Standing
armies.

Transfer of
whole na-
tions.

6. Cyrus leaves two sons, the elder of whom,

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Cambyses, succeeds as king; the younger, Smerdis, (the *Tanyoxarces* of Ctesias,) becomes independent lord of Bactria and the eastern territories; but is soon after murdered by the command of his elder brother.

CAMBYSES
B. C. 529
—522.

conquers
Egypt, etc.

7. Under Cambyses the conquering arms of the Persians are directed against Africa. Egypt becomes a Persian province, and the neighbouring Libya, together with Cyrene, assume the yoke of their own accord. But the twofold expedition against the rich staples, Ammonium in the west, and Meroe in the south, is wholly unsuccessful; that against Carthage is arrested in its commencement by the refusal of the Tyrians to join the naval armament. A colony of six thousand Egyptians is transplanted into Susiana.

His policy
in persecut-
ing the
Egyptian
priesthood:

8. The cruelty with which Cambyses is accused of treating the Egyptians was directed rather against the powerful caste of the priests, than against the whole nation; and originated more in political than in religious motives. It must be observed, however, that we ought to be particularly on our guard against all the evil that is related of Cambyses, inasmuch as our information respecting that prince is derived entirely from his enemies, the Egyptian priests.

his vices
probably
much ex-
aggerated.

Usurpation
of the magi:

9. The usurpation of the Pseudo-Smerdis, (or *Tanyoxarces*,) was an attempt of the magians to replace a Medic dynasty on the throne, by means of a plot hatched within the seraglio. It was the occasion of an accident which cost Cambyses his life, after a reign of seven years and a half: (or, according to Ctesias, of eighteen.)

death of
Cambyses,
522.

The false
SMERDIS.

10. The Pseudo-Smerdis kept his seat on the

throne 8 months, during which he attempted to bring over the conquered nations to his interest by a remission of all tribute for three years; but the discovery of his cheat gave rise to a conspiracy of 7 of the chief Persians, who could not brook the rule of a Mede, and the usurper lost his life.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

after a reign
of 8 months,
is slain by
the 7
grandees.

11. It could not be expected that the political organization of the kingdom should advance to completion during the reign of Cambyses, who was almost always absent in the prosecution of war; or during the brief rule of the Pseudo-Smerdis. It remained, therefore, in the same state as under Cyrus. But the introduction of the Medic court ceremonial among the ruling tribe of the Persians, and the adoption of fixed dwellings by that tribe, rendered it necessary that royal residences should be erected for the reception of the king's court; among these Persepolis¹, probably commenced by Cyrus, was completed under Darius and Xerxes.

No progress
made to-
wards an
established
government
under Cam-
byses and
Smerdis.

The Per-
sians having
forsaken the
nomad life,

Persepolis
is built.

The best views of the monuments of Persepolis, remarkable alike by their architecture, their sculpture, and their inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, are found in the travels of CHARDIN and NIEBUHR. Illustrations:

† HERDER's *Persepolis*, in the collection of his works, vol. i.

† HEEREN, *Ideas*, etc. Part I. vol. i. Great assistance towards the study of the inscriptions will be found in

DE SACY, *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*; Paris, 1793. 4to. It must be observed, however, that this work is confined to the illustration of the later monuments, belonging to the *Sassanidæ*. The most successful attempt at deciphering the arrow-headed inscriptions of the old Persic since TYCHSEN, MUENTER, and LICHTENSTEIN; will be found in

¹ See above, p. 20.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

† GROTEFEND, *On the Interpretation of the Arrow-headed Characters, particularly of the inscriptions at Persepolis*, contained in the appendix to HEEREN, *Ideas*, etc. vol. ii. with an accompanying Zend alphabet.

The 7 gran-
dees hold
council on
the future
form of go-
vernment.

12. After a very remarkable debate held by the seven conspirators, concerning the form of government which should be established, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, one of the family of the Achæmenidæ, was raised to the throne by an oracle: this king endeavoured to strengthen his right to the sceptre by marrying two of Cyrus's daughters.

DARIUS
(522--486.)
a great
statesman
and con-
queror:

13. The reign of Darius I. which lasted 36 years, (according to Ctesias 31,) is remarkable by the improvements made both in the external and internal administration of the Persian empire. In respect to the former, by the great expeditions and conquests, which extended the Persian realm to its utmost limits; with respect to the latter, by several important institutions, erected for the internal organization of the state.

the first
Persian
that carries
his arms
into Eu-
rope:

14. The expeditions of the Persians under Cyrus had been directed against the countries of Asia; those of Cambyses against Africa. But those undertaken by Darius I. had Europe for their object; meanwhile the Persian territory was likewise extended in the two other quarters of the world. In the reign of this king likewise commenced those wars with the Greeks, so fatal to the Persians; constantly fomented and supported by emigrant or exile Greeks, who found an asylum in the Persian court, and there contrived to raise a party.—First example of the kind exhibited shortly after the accession of Darius, in

and is em-
broiled
with the
European
Greeks.

Syloson, brother to Polycrates, who had been tyrant of Samos: at his request the island was taken possession of by the Persians, and delivered up to him after the almost total destruction of the male population.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

15. Great revolt in Babylon, which could not brook the rule of foreigners. After a siege of 21 months, Darius is enabled by stratagem to regain possession of the city. The power of Babylon and the importance of its situation, served to increase the jealousy with which it was guarded by the Persian kings; so much so, that they were wont to reside there a certain portion of the year.

Babylon se-
cedes, and is
reduced:
B. C. 516.

16. First great expedition of Darius undertaken against the Scythians inhabiting the lands north of the Black sea: the former irruption of the Scythians into Asia afforded a pretext for the war, which, therefore, was considered as a general national undertaking. Unsuccessful as the Persian arms were in this vast expedition against the Scythians, and disgraceful as was the retreat from the barren steppes of the Ukraïn, yet was the power of Darius established in Thrace and Macedonia, and the Persians obtained firm footing in Europe.

Campaign
against the
Scythians:
513.

The Per-
sians,
though un-
successful,
establish
themselves
in Europe.

Concerning the peculiar character of the Persian national wars, or great campaigns, in which all the conquered nations were obliged to participate, contrasted with the other wars waged by the Persian troops alone.

17. More successful than the expedition to the Danube was that undertaken by Darius on the banks of the Indus; after a Greek, by name Scylax, had made a voyage of discovery down

Campaign
against
western
India, 509:

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

against
Barca in
Africa.

Secession of
the Asiatic
Greeks,
B. C. 502—
496;

who, assist-
ed by
Athens, fire
Sardes,
500,

but are
completely
routed off
Miletus,
496.

First cam-
paign
against
Greece.

that river. The highlands north of the Indus are now reduced to the Persian dominion, and the Indus itself becomes the frontier of the Persian kingdom. About the same time that Darius himself is engaged on the Danube and the Indus, Aryandes, his viceroy in Egypt, leads an expedition against Barca, to avenge the murder of king Arcesilaus; this war ends in the destruction of the city, and the transplantation of its inhabitants into Asia.

18. Much more important in its consequences was the event, however trifling its first occurrence, which gave rise to the revolt of the Asiatic Greeks, at the instigation of Aristagoras, lieutenant-governor of Miletus, who was secretly supported by his relation, the offended Histæus, then resident at the Persian court. The share taken by the Athenians in that rebellion, which led to the firing of Sardes, was the origin of the national hatred between Persia and European Greece, and of the long series of wars that ensued. The confederates were this time defeated; but the naval battle off the island of Lada, could hardly have had such a fatal result, had not the league been previously corrupted by the craft and gold of Persia. Be that as it may, this war ended in the reduction of the Ionians, and the destruction of Miletus, their flourishing capital; a city which in those days, together with Tyre and Carthage, engrossed the trade of the world.

19. First attack upon Greece, particularly Athens: Darius, already enraged against the Athenians by the firing of Sardes, is still farther excited by the banished tyrant of Athens, Hippias.

the son of Pisistratus ; this prince, who had fled to the Persian court, was evidently the animating spirit of the whole undertaking. Although the first attempt, made under the command of Mar-
 donius, was thwarted by a tempest, yet the next following mighty expedition was undertaken with so much more prudence, and conducted with so much knowledge of the country, that no one can fail to recognise the guiding hand of Hippias. Even the battle of Marathon, which seems to have been but a diversion on the Persian side, would not have decided the war, unless the activity of Miltiades had defeated the principal design of the enemy upon Athens.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

under Mar-
donius,
frustrated
by a tem-
pest off
Athos, 492.
Second
campaign.

Battle of
Marathon,
Sept. 29,
490.

20. It may be said that Darius, by these foreign wars, debilitated the kingdom which he endeavoured to extend ; this circumstance, however, it cannot be denied, increases the merit which he has of perfecting the internal organization of the empire. His reign constitutes precisely that period which must enter into the history of every nomad race that has attained to power, and is advancing towards political civilization ; that period at which it becomes visible that the nation is endeavouring to obtain a constitution, however gradual the progress towards it.

Progress of
the Persians
towards a
regular con-
stitution.

21. Division of the empire into twenty *satrapies*, and the imposition of regular tribute on each. This division at first depended solely on that of the various tributary races, but from it gradually arose a geographic division, in which the ancient distinction of countries was for the most part preserved.

Division of
the empire
into *satra-
pies*.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Proofs that the division into satrapies was originally a mere arrangement for the civil government and collection of taxes, distinct from military power. Duties of the satraps. The attention they were to pay to the cultivation and improvement of the land; to the collection of the imposts; to the execution of the royal commands relating to provincial affairs. An abuse of this institution at a later period, placed in the hands of these satraps the command also of the troops.—Various means of keeping the satraps in a state of dependence: royal secretaries appointed for each, who were to be the first to receive the king's commands.—Periodical visits paid to the provinces by commissioners under the direct appointment of the king, or by the king himself accompanied with an army.—Establishment of couriers in every part of the empire, for the purpose of securing a safe and rapid communication with the provinces, as was the case also in the Mongol countries; (no post, however, the institution here alluded to being intended only for the court.)

Persian
finances:
the con-
quered to
support the
conquerors.

22. The Persian finance continues to preserve those peculiarities which naturally result from the formation of an empire by a nomad race of conquerors, desirous of living at the expense of the conquered, and despotically governed.

Collection of tribute, mostly in kind, for the support of the court and the armies; and in precious metals, not coined, but in their raw state. Application of the treasure thus collected towards constituting a private chest for the king. Various other royal imposts.—Mode of providing for the public expenditure by assignments on the revenues of one or several places.

Art mili-
tary.

23. Organization of the military system, as developed by the original state of the nation, and the necessity now felt of keeping the conquered countries in subjection by means of standing armies.

Military organization of the Persian nations, by means of a decimal division pervading the whole.—Royal troops cantoned in the open field, according to a certain division of the empire, or stationed as garrisons in the cities, and distinct from the encamp-

ments.—Manner in which the troops were supported at the cost and by the taxes of the provinces.—Introduction of mercenaries and Greeks, more particularly among the Persians, and fatal consequences of that measure.—Military household of the satraps and grandees.—Institution of a general conscription in national wars. Formation of the Persian navy, consisting of the Phœnician, and not unfrequently of the Asiatic Greek fleets.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

24. From the time of Darius, the court of the kings of Persia attained its complete form, and the government soon after was wholly concentrated in the seraglio. Yet the mode of life which the kings led, surrounded by a court, taken principally, if not wholly, from the tribe of the Pasargadæ, and changing their residence according to the revolutions of the seasons, still preserved the traces of nomad origin.

The Persian court both a seraglio and the head quarters of the army.

Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, the usual residences; Persepolis now used as a royal cemetery. The court supported by the most costly productions of each province; hence arises the rigid ceremonial observed at the royal table.—Internal organization of the seraglio.—Influence of the eunuchs and queen-mothers on the government.

25. Already had Darius commenced preparations to wreak vengeance on Athens, when a revolution broke out in Egypt, and hindered him from prosecuting his design. He died after nominating for his successor Xerxes I. grandson of Cyrus, and his eldest son by his second wife, Atossa, whose influence over her husband was boundless.

Revolt of Egypt, B. C. 488:

death of Darius, 486.

26. Xerxes I. A prince educated in the seraglio, who knew nothing beyond the art of representing the pomp of royalty. Subjection of Egypt, and severe treatment of that country under the satrap Achæmenes, brother to Xerxes.

XERXES I. 486—465:

recovers Egypt, 484:

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

leads a
mighty
army
against
Greece.

27. Xerxes's famous expedition against Greece was again the result of the cabals and intrigues of the Greek exiles, the Pisistratidæ, the soothsayer, Onomacritus, the Thessalian princes or Aleuadæ, who contrived to exert their influence on the king's mind, and to raise a party in their favour among the grandees. But the progress of the campaign showed that no Hippias was at the head of the invading army, although the Persian king did certainly succeed in his avowed object, the capture and destruction of Athens.

Critique on the detailed account given by Herodotus of this expedition, as a national undertaking in which all the subjugated nations were obliged to take a share.—Preparations which last for 3 years in the Persian empire; league framed with Carthage for the subjection of the Sicilian Greeks, 483—481. The expedition itself in 480; over Asia Minor and the Hellespont, athwart Thrace and Macedonia.—Muster of the army and division of the troops according to nations at Doriscus; the detailed description of which found in Herodotus, was most probably borrowed from some Persian document.—The pass of Thermopylæ taken by treachery; on the same day a naval engagement off Artemisium.—Athens captured and burnt. Battle of Salamis, Sept. 23, 480. Retreat of Xerxes; an army of picked men left behind, under the command of Mardonius.—Fruitless negotiations with the Athenians.—Second campaign of Mardonius: he is routed at Platææ, Sept. 25, 479; and that event puts an end for ever to Persian irruptions into Greece: on the same day the Persian army is defeated, and their fleet burnt at Mycale in Asia Minor.

Persia now
obliged to
concentrate
her forces in
Asia Minor.

28. The consequences of these repeated and unsuccessful expeditions, in which almost the whole population was engaged are self-evident. The empire was debilitated and depopulated. The defensive war which the Persians for thirty years were obliged to maintain against the Greeks, who aimed at establishing the independence of their Asiatic countrymen, destroyed

completely the balance of their power, by compelling them to transfer their forces to Asia Minor, the most distant western province of the empire.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

29. Little as the Greeks had to fear from the Persian arms, great was the danger with which they were threatened, now that the enemy had adopted the system of bribing the chieftains of Greece; a system which succeeded beyond expectation in the first trial made of it with Pausanias, and perhaps was not wholly unsuccessful with Themistocles himself.—But the Persians soon found in Cimon an adversary who deprived them of the sovereignty of the sea; who in one day destroyed both their fleet and their army on the Eurymedon; and by the conquest of the Thracian Chersonese, wrested from them the key of Europe.

Policy of
the Persians
in bribing
the Greeks.

Cimon
wrests from
Persia the
sovereignty
of the sea:
battle of the
Eurymedon,
469.

30. What little we know farther concerning the reign of Xerxes, consists in the intrigues of the seraglio, which now, through the machinations of queen Amestris, became the theatre of all those horrors which are wont to be exhibited in such places, and to which Xerxes himself at last fell a victim, in consequence of the conspiracy of Artabanes and the eunuch Spamitres.

Bloody
deeds in the
Persian se-
raglio:

Xerxes
murdered.

Was Xerxes the Ahasuerus of the Jews?—On the difference between the names of the Persian kings in Persian and Chaldee; not to be wondered at when we consider that they were mere titles or surnames, assumed by the sovereigns after their accession.

31. Artaxerxes I. surnamed Longimanus. In consequence of the murder of his father and his elder brother, in the conspiracy of Artabanes, this prince ascended the throne, but was unable to keep possession of the power without

ARTA-
XERXES,
B. C. 465—
424.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

During his
reign Persia
is on the de-
cline.

Rebellions
in the pro-
vinces.

Second se-
cession of
Egypt,
B.C. 463:

partly
quelled,
456.

Persian
fleet and
army de-
feated by
Cimon,
449.

Disgraceful
peace with
Athens,
449.

assassinating, in his turn, Artabanes. His reign, which lasted 40 years, exhibits the first symptoms of the decline of the empire, which this king, although possessed of many good qualities, had not the talent or spirit to arrest.

32. At the very commencement of his reign rebellions are excited in the provinces; in the mean while the war with Athens continues. Two battles are required to repress the insurrection of his brother Hystaspes in Bactria.

33. Second revolt of Egypt, excited by the Libyan king, Inarus of Marea, in conjunction with the Egyptian, Amyrtæus, and supported by an Athenian fleet. Although the confederates did not make themselves masters of Memphis, they defeated the Persian army, commanded by the king's brother, Achæmenes, who lost his life in the battle: they were at last overpowered by Megabyzus, satrap of Syria, and shut up together with Inarus in the town of Byblus. Inarus and his party were admitted to capitulation; but Amyrtæus, having taken refuge in the morasses, continued to make head against the Persians.

34. The Grecian war takes, once more, an unfavourable turn for the Persians: Cimon defeats the Persian fleet and army near Cyprus. The fear of losing the whole of the island accordingly compels Artaxerxes I. to sign a treaty of peace with Athens, in which he recognises the independence of the Asiatic Greeks; and agrees that his fleet shall not navigate the Ægæan sea, nor his troops approach within 3 days' march of the coast.

35. But the overweening Megabyzus, enraged

at the execution of Inarus, in violation of the promise made by him to that prince, excites a rebellion in Syria; repeatedly defeats the royal armies, and prescribes himself the conditions upon which he will reconcile himself with his king. This was the first great example of a successful insurrection excited by one of the Persian satraps; and chequered as were the subsequent fortunes of Megabyzus, his party descended after his death to his sons. He possessed in the centre of the court a support in the dowager queen Amestris, and the reigning queen Amytis; (both notorious by their lewdness;) and who kept Artaxerxes I. in a constant state of tutelage to the hour of his death.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Megabyzus,
the first ex-
ample of a
rebellious
satrap,
B. C. 447.

Death of
Artaxerxes,
424.

XERXES II.
424.

SOGDIA-
NUS.

DARIUS II.
423—404.

Rapid de-
cline of the
state.

36. Revolutions in the government now succeed with rapidity and violence. Xerxes II. the only legitimate son and successor of Artaxerxes, is slain, after 45 days' reign, by his bastard brother Sogdianus; the latter, in his turn, after a reign of 6 months, is deposed by another bastard brother, Ochus, who ascends the throne, and assumes the name of Darius II.

37. Darius II. surnamed the Bastard, or Nothus. He reigns 19 years under the tutelage of his wife, Parysatis, and of three eunuchs, one of whom, Artoxares, even attempts to open a way to the throne, but is put to death. In this period the decline of the state advances with hurried steps; partly by reason of the extinction of the legitimate royal line, partly by the increased practice of placing more than one province, together with the military command, in the hands of the same satrap. Although the repeated insur-

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

reactions of the satraps are repressed, the court, by the breach of faith to which it is obliged to have recourse, in order to succeed in its measures, exhibits to the world a convincing proof of its infirmity. The revolt of Arsites, one of the king's brothers, who was supported by a son of Megabyzus, and that of Pisuthnes, satrap of Lydia, are quelled only by obtaining treacherous possession of their persons.

B. C. 422.

414.

Third revolt
of Egypt,
414.

38. In consequence of the weak state of the empire, the fire, which had hitherto been smouldering under the ashes, burst forth in Egypt. Amyrtæus, who had remained till now in the morasses, issued forth, supported by the Egyptians; and the Persians were again expelled the land. Obscure as the subsequent history may be, we see that the Persians were obliged to acknowledge, not only Amyrtæus, but also his successors¹.

Peloponnesian war favourable to the Persian interests,

39. The Persians must have regarded it as a happy event, that the Peloponnesian war, kindled in Greece during the reign of Artaxerxes, and protracted through the whole of that of Darius II. hindered the Greeks from unitedly falling upon Persia. It now became, and henceforward continued to be, the chief policy of the Persians to foment quarrels and wars between the Grecian republics, by siding at various times with various parties; and the mutual hatred of the Greeks rendered this game so easy, that Greece could hardly have escaped total destruction, had the Persian plans been always as wisely laid as they

¹ See page 72.

were by Tissaphernes; and had not the whimsies and the jealousy of the satraps in Asia Minor generally had more effect than the commands of the court.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Alliance of the Persians with Sparta, framed by Tissaphernes, 411; but in consequence of the policy of Alcibiades, and the artful principles of Tissaphernes, followed by no important results, until the younger Cyrus, satrap of all Asia Minor, was by Lysander, 407, brought over to the Spartan interest².

40. Artaxerxes II. surnamed Mnemon. Although this prince was the eldest son of Darius, his right to the throne might, according to the Persian ideas of succession, have appeared dubious, since his younger brother, Cyrus, had the advantage over him of being the first born subsequent to the accession of his father. Relying on the support of his mother Parysatis, Cyrus, even without this claim to the throne, would, no doubt, have asserted his pretence to the sovereign power. It would have been, in all probability, a fortunate event for the Persian empire, had the fate of battle, in the war between the two brothers which now ensued assigned the throne to him whom nature pointed out.

ARTA-
XERXES II.
B. C. 405—
362.

Anabasis of
Cyrus.

History of this war according to Xenophon. Battle of Cunaxa, in which Cyrus falls, 401. Retreat of the ten thousand Greek mercenaries in the service of Cyrus, under the guidance of Xenophon.

41. During the whole of this reign, Artaxerxes, now firmly seated on the throne, remained under the tutelage of his mother, Parysatis, whose inveterate hatred against his wife, Statira, and against all who had any share in the death of her

Weak reign
of Artaxerxes II.

² See below, the Grecian history, III. Period, parag. 23.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

darling son, Cyrus, converted the seraglio into a theatre of bloody deeds, such as can be conceived and committed only in similar places.

War with
Sparta,
B. C. 400.

Agesilaus
in Asia,
396—394.

Peace of
Antalcidas,
387.

Policy of
Persia in
keeping on
good terms
with
Thebes.

War with
Evagoras of
Cyprus,
385.

War with
the Cadusii,
384.

42. The insurrection and rout of Cyrus produced a change in the relation in which the Persian court stood with Sparta: that in which they now stood was not determined so much by the will of the monarch himself, as by the satraps of Asia Minor, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, of whose jealousy Sparta now knew how to take advantage. The former, by his severity towards the Asiatic Greeks, who had supported the cause of Cyrus, excited a war with Sparta, in which he himself fell a victim. The death of the satrap is not, however, succeeded by tranquillity; for Agesilaus commands in Asia, and threatens to overthrow the Persian throne itself. The policy of the Persians is shown by the war which they foment in Greece against Sparta: Conon is placed at the head of their fleet, and extricates Persia from her difficulties better than could have been done by her own generals; in the peace of Antalcidas she herself dictates the terms by which the Grecian colonies of Asia Minor, together with Cyprus and Clazomenæ, are again delivered into her possession. The rising power of Thebes under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, with which Persia keeps up a friendly connexion, ensures her from any future blow at the hands of the Spartans.—War for possession of Cyprus with Evagoras, who, however, by the subsequent peace retains the sovereignty of Salamis.

43. The war against the Cadusii in the mountains of Caucasus, proves that Artaxerxes II. was

not fitted for military command ; and his attempt at recovering Egypt from king Nectanebus I. which was defeated by the feud between Iphicrates and Artabazus, demonstrates that the most numerous Persian host could achieve nothing without the assistance of Grecian troops and Grecian generals.—It could hardly be expected that an empire should endure much longer, when in the court all was ruled by the desire of revenge in the women ; when the political organization was already so corrupt, that the satraps waged war against each other ; and when those generals who gave any proof of talent received the reward of a Datames.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Attempt to
recover
Egypt,
B. C. 374.

44. In fact, it seemed not unlikely that the Persian empire would fall asunder a little before the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. A quarrel about the succession arose in the court between the three legitimate sons of the king, the eldest of whom, Darius, was put to death : the standard of rebellion was erected in the western half of the empire, and joined by all the governors of Asia Minor and Syria, supported by Tachos, king of Egypt, to whose assistance the Spartans had sent Agesilaus. The insurrection, however, was quelled in consequence of the treachery of the chief leader Orontes, who was bribed over to the court.

The suc-
cession to the
throne of
Persia is
disputed,
and almost
produces
the downfall
of the em-
pire before
the death of
Artaxerxes.

Rebellion
in the west
dispelled by
treachery,
362.

45. In the midst of these commotions died Artaxerxes II. his youngest son, Ochus, took possession of the throne, and assumed the name of Artaxerxes III. This king conceived that he could not establish his power but by the total destruction of the royal family, numerous as it was.

Artaxerxes
III. about
362—338.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

contempo-
rary with
Philip, the
father of
Alexander
the great.

Insurrec-
tion in Asia
Minor,
B. C. 358.

Rebellion
of the Phœ-
nicians and
Cyprians,
356.

The Per-
sian empire
once more
restored to
its ancient
bounds.

The king
poisoned by
an eunuch,
Bagoas,
338.

Bagoas
places Ar-
ces on the
throne, but
soon after
makes away
with him.

He was contemporary with Philip of Macedon, in whom he soon found a more formidable rival than any he could have met with in his own family.

46. The new insurrection fomented by Artabazus in Asia Minor, was accompanied with success so long only as it was backed by the Thebans; but the reception which Artabazus found at the hands of Philip made known what were the intentions of the Macedonian king.

47. But the extensive rebellion of the Phœnicians and Cyprians, in conjunction with Egypt, compelled the king to undertake another expedition, which succeeded almost beyond expectation; although in this case the object was again attained principally by treachery and by Grecian auxiliaries.

Treachery of Mentor, the leader of the confederates: the consequent capture and destruction of Sidon, followed by the subjection of Phœnicia, 356. Capture of Cyprus by Grecian troops, under the command of Phocion and the younger Evagoras, 354. Expedition of the king in person against Egypt: victory of Pelusium, won over king Nectanebus II. with the help of Grecian mercenaries. Egypt becomes, once more, a Persian province.

48. This restoration of the empire to its former limits was followed by a period of tranquillity, the result of force, as Mentor and the eunuch Bagoas, holding the king in complete dependence, divided the kingdom, as it were, between themselves; until Bagoas was pleased, by poison, to remove Artaxerxes out of his way.

49. After the assassination of the royal family, Bagoas placed on the throne the king's youngest and only surviving son, Arces. Bagoas was desirous of reigning in the name of that prince; but

after the lapse of two years, he found it necessary to depose him, and to substitute in his place a distant relation of the reigning family, Darius Codomannus, who commenced his reign by putting to death the wretch himself.

FROM
CYRUS
TO ALEX-
ANDER.
B. C. 336.

50. Darius III. Codomannus, not having been educated like his predecessors, in the seraglio, gave proof of virtues which entitled him to a better lot than befell him. Attacked in the 2nd year of his reign by Macedon, against which Persia had hitherto made no preparation for resistance,—unless, perhaps, the dagger which pierced Philip was pointed by Persian hands,—Darius was unable to reestablish at once a kingdom which of itself was mouldering away. And yet, had not death defeated the invasion of Macedonia by his general, Memnon, it might have been matter of doubt, whether Alexander would ever have shone as the conqueror of Asia.—After the loss of two battles, in which he fought in person, Darius III. fell, the victim of the traitor Bessus, and the firing of Persepolis made known to Asia that the realm of Persia was destroyed, and that the east must acknowledge a new lord and master³.

DARIUS
III. 336.

His king-
dom in-
vaded by
Alexander
the great,
334.

Alexan-
der's domi-
nion esta-
blished in
Asia, 330.

³ For the history of the war, see below, the history of Macedon.

THIRD BOOK.

HISTORY OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

Geographical Outline.

- GREECE.** *Greece* is bounded on the north by the Cambunian mountains, which separate it from Macedonia; on the south and east by the Ægæan, on the west by the Ionian sea. Greatest length from south to north, = 220 g. miles, greatest breadth from west to east = 140 g. miles. Superficial contents = 29,600 square miles.—Principal rivers: the Peneus, which discharges its waters into the Ægæan, and the Achelous, which flows into the Ionian sea. Advantages in respect to fertility, resulting from the mildness of the climate, between 37—40° N. Lat. From the number of small streams; from the qualities and variety of the soil, in which this country has been so much more blessed by nature than any other of similar extent, that every branch of cultivation may be prosecuted equally and in conjunction.—Advantages in reference to navigation and commerce: situated in the vicinity of the three quarters of the world, on three sides washed by the sea, and abounding in ports and harbours on its indented coast.
- Boundaries of Greece:**
- its dimensions:**
- rivers:**
- physical advantages.**
- Divisions.** Division into northern Greece from the north boundary to the chain of Œta and Pindus, between the Ambracian gulf west, and the Maliac

east. Central Greece, or Hellas, down to the GREECE. isthmus of Corinth: and the southern peninsula, or Peloponnesus.

Northern Greece comprises two countries; NORTHERN GREECE. Thessaly east, Epirus west.

1. Thessaly, the largest and one of the most Thessaly. fruitful of the Grecian countries. Length from north to south 60 g. miles; breadth from west to east 64 g. miles. Rivers: the Peneus, Apidanus, and several smaller streams. Mountains: Olympus, residence of the gods of fable, and Ossa in the north; the chain of Œta, Othrys, and Pindus in the south. Division into five provinces: 1. Estiæotis; cities, Gomphi, Azorus: 2. Pelasgiotis; cities: Larissa, Gonni, the vale of Tempe: 3. Thessaliotis; cities: Pharsalus, etc. 4. Phthiotis; cities: Pheræ, etc. 5. The foreland of Magnesia, with a city of the same name. Other territories, such as Perrhæbia, etc. for instance, derived their names from the non-Greek races who inhabited them.

2. Epirus. Next to Thessaly, the largest, al- Epirus. though one of the least cultivated countries of Greece: 48—60 g. miles long, and the same in breadth. Divisions: Molossis; city, Ambracia; Thesprotia; city, Buthrotum; in the interior Dodona.

Central Greece, or Hellas, comprises nine coun- CENTRAL GREECE. tries.

1. Attica, a foreland, extending towards the Attica. south-east, and gradually diminishing. Length, 60 g. miles; greatest breadth 24 g. miles. Rivers: Ilissus, Cephissus. Mountains: Hymettus, Pentelicus, and the headland of Sunium. City:

GREECE. Athens, with the harbours Piræus, Phalereus, and Munychius; in the other parts no towns, but hamlets, *δήμοι*, such as Marathon, Eleusis, Decelea, etc.

Megaris. 2. Megaris, close to the isthmus of Corinth. The smallest of the Grecian countries; 16 g. miles long, and from 4—8 broad. City, Megara.

Bœotia. 3. Bœotia, a mountainous and marshy country, 52 g. miles long, and from 28—32 broad. Rivers: Asopus, Ismenus, and several smaller streams. Mountains: Helicon, Cytheron, etc. Lake: Copais.—Bœotia was, of all the Grecian countries, that which contained the greatest number of cities, each having its own separate territory. Among these, the first in importance, and frequently mistress of the rest, was Thebes on the Ismenus. The others, Plataæ, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Chæronea, Lebadea, Leuctra, and Orchomenus, are all celebrated in Grecian history.

Phocis. 4. Phocis, smaller than Attica; 48 g. miles long, from 4—20 broad. River: Cephissus. Mountain: Parnassus. Cities: Delphi, on Parnassus, with the celebrated oracle of Apollo. Crissa, with the harbour of Cirrha, and up the country Elatea. The other cities are insignificant.

Locris 1st and 2nd. 5, 6. The two countries called Locris. The eastern on the Euripus, territory of the Locri Opuntii and Epicnemidii is the lesser of the two; being but little larger than Megaris. City: Opus; pass, Thermopylæ. The western Locris on the Corinthian gulf, station of the Locri Ozolæ is from 20—24 g. miles long, and from 16—20 broad. Cities: Naupactus on the sea, Amphissa up the country.

7. The small country of Doris, or the Tetra-^{GREECE.} polis Dorica, on the south side of mount Œta,^{Doris.} from 8—12 g. miles long, and the same in breadth.

8. Ætolia, somewhat larger than Bœotia; from ^{Ætolia.} 40—52 g. miles long, and from 28—32 broad; but the worst cultivated country of all. Rivers: Achelous, which skirts Acarnania, and the Evenus. Cities: Calydon, Thermus.

9. Acarnania, the westernmost country of Hel-^{Acarnania.} las, 32 g. miles long, from 16—24 broad. River: Achelous. Cities: Argos Amphiloichicum, and Stratus.

The peninsula of Peloponnesus contains eight <sup>PELOPON-
NESUS.</sup> countries.

1. Arcadia, a mountainous country, abounding ^{Arcadia.} in pastures, and situate in the centre of the peninsula; greatest length, 48 g. miles; greatest breadth, 36 g. miles. Mountains: Cyllene, Erymanthus, etc. Rivers: Alpheus, Erymanthus, and several smaller streams. Cities: Mantinea, Tegea, Orchomenus, Heræa, Psophis; subsequently Megalopolis, as a common capital.

2. Laconica, likewise mountainous. Greatest ^{Laconica.} length, 66 g. miles; greatest breadth, 36 g. miles. River: Eurotas. Mountains: Taygetus, and the headlands Malea and Tænarium. Cities: Sparta on the Eurotas; other places: Amyclæ, Sellasia, and others of little importance.

3. Messenia, west of Laconica; a more level ^{Messenia.} and extremely fertile country, subject to the Spartans from B. C. 668. Greatest length, 28 g. miles; greatest breadth 36 g. miles. City: Messene. Frontier places, Ithome and Ira: of the

GREECE. other places, Pylus (Navarino) and Methone are the most celebrated.

Elis. 4. Elis, with the small territory of Triphylia, on the west of the Peloponnesus. Length, 60 g. miles: greatest breadth, 28 g. miles. Rivers: Alpheus, Peneus, Sellis, and several smaller streams. Cities: in the north, Elis, Cyllene, and Pylus. On the Alpheus, Pisa and the neighbouring town of Olympia. In Triphylia, a third Pylus.

Argolis. 5. Argolis, on the east side of the peninsula; a foreland opposite to Attica, with which it forms the Sinus Saronicus. Length, 64 g. miles: breadth, from 8—28 g. miles. Cities: Argos, Mycenæ, Epidaurus. Smaller but remarkable places; Nemea, Cynuria, Træzen.

Achaia. 6. Achaia, originally Ionia, called likewise Ægialus, comprises the north coast. Length, 56 g. miles: breadth, from 12—24. It contains 12 cities, of which Dyme, Patræ, and Pellene are the most important.

Sicyonia. 7. The little country of Sicyonia, 16 g. miles long, 8 broad, with the cities of Sicyon and Phlius.

Corinth. 8. The small territory of Corinth, of the same extent as the foregoing, adjoining the isthmus which connects Peloponnesus with the main land. City: Corinth, originally Ephyra, with the ports of Lechæum and Cenchræ; the former on the Corinthian, the latter on the Saronic gulf.

ISLANDS. The Greek islands may be divided into three classes; those which lie immediately off the coasts, those which are collected in groups, and those which lie separate in the open sea.

Off the coast,

1. Islands off the coasts. Off the west coast

in the Ionian sea: Corcyra, opposite Epirus, 32 GREECE.
 g. miles long, from 8—16 broad. City: Corcyra. Corcyra;
 A Corinthian colony. Opposite Acarnania: Leu- Leucadia;
 cadia, with the city and headland of Leucas.—
 Cephalonia or Same, originally Scheria, with the Cephalonia
 cities of Same and Cephalonia. In the neigh- and Ithaca;
 bourhood lies the small island of Ithaca.—Oppo-
 site Elis: Zacynthus. Off the south coast: Cy- Zacynthus;
 theria, with a town of the same name. Off the Cythera;
 east coast, in the Saronic gulf: Ægina and Sala- Ægina and
 mis. Opposite Bœotia, from which it is sepa- Salamis;
 rated by the strait named Euripus, Eubœa, the Eubœa;
 most extensive of all; 76 g. miles long, from 12
 —16 g. miles broad. Cities: Oreus, with the
 headland of Artemisium on the north, in the Scyathus,
 centre Chalcis, Eretria. Off Thessaly, Scyathus Thasus,
 and Halonesus. Farther north, Thasus, Imbrus, Imbrus, Sa-
 Samothrace, and Lemnos. mothrace,
Lemnos,
etc.

2. Clusters of islands in the Ægæan sea: the Groups.
 Cyclades and Sporides; the former of which com- Cyclades
 prise the western, the latter the eastern islands and Spo-
 of the Archipelago. The most important among rides:
 them are, Andros, Delos, Paros, Naxos, Melos,
 all with cities of the same names.

3. The more extensive separate islands: 1. *Separate.*
 Crete, 140 g. miles long, from 24—40 broad. Crete;
 Mountain: Ida. Cities: Cydonia, Gortyna, Cnos-
 sus. 2. Cyprus, 120 g. miles long, from 20—80 Cyprus.
 broad. Cities: Salamis, Paphos, Citium, and
 several smaller places¹.

† FR. CARL. HERM. KRUSE, *Geographico-Antiquarian deli-*
neation of ancient Greece and its colonies, with attention to the

¹ Concerning the principal Hellenic islands off the coast of Asia Minor, see
 above, p. 18.

FIRST PERIOD. *new discoveries.* Illustrated with maps and plates: first part, 1825. General Geography: second part, first division, 1826. Second division, 1827. Special Geography of Central Greece. The most minute and careful description of Greece, founded on the modern discoveries.

FIRST PERIOD.

The most ancient traditional history, down to the Trojan war, about B. C. 1200.

Sources: On the formation and progress of history among the Greeks. Preliminary inquiry into the peculiarities of Grecian mythology in a historical point of view, as comprising the most ancient history of the national tribes and heroes: a history rich in itself, on account of the number of the tribes and their leaders; but embellished and altered in various ways by the poets, particularly the great early epics, and subsequently by the tragedians.—First advance of history from tradition, wrought by the logographers, especially those of the Ionian cities, Hecataeus, Pherecydes, etc. until at last HERODOTUS, justly called the father of history, raises it to so lofty a height. (Compare † *The historical Art of the Greeks considered in its Rise and Progress*, by G. F. CREUZER; 1803.) Nevertheless, in Herodotus, and even later writers, history continued to savour of its origin; and so far as the realm of tradition extended, even Theopompus and Ephorus felt no disinclination to borrow their materials from mythographs or poets. It need scarcely be observed, that in this first period the history is merely traditional.

Among the moderns, the English have treated most successfully the subject of Grecian history. The principal works are:

JOHN GILLIES, *The History of Ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests, from the earliest accounts till the division of the Macedonian empire in the east, including the history of literature, philosophy, and the fine arts.* London, 1786, 2 vols. 4to. and

WILLIAM MITFORD, *The History of Greece.* London, 1784,

4 vols. 4to. Has been translated into German, Jena, 1800 sqq. by *H. L. Eichstädt*. Mitford is perhaps superior in the abundance and authenticity of materials; but he certainly is greatly surpassed by Gillies in genius and taste, and more especially in the proper conception of the spirit of antiquity.

DE PAUW, *Recherches sur les Grecs*, 1781, 2 vols. 8vo. Replete with partial views and hypotheses.

† *HEEREN*, *Ideas on the politics, intercourse, and trade of the most eminent nations of antiquity*: 3 vols. 1st part, 4th edit. 1826.

Many important inquiries on various portions of Grecian history and antiquities will be found in the great collection:

GRONOVII Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum, 12 vols. folio.

Others are contained in the transactions of different learned societies; particularly in

Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, Paris, 1709 sqq. 49 vols. 4to.

Commentarii, (4 vols.) *Commentarii novi*, (8 vols.) *Commentationes*, (16 vols.) and *Commentationes recentiores Societatis Scientiarum Gotting.* (5 vols.)

1. Although Greece was originally inhabited by several insignificant races, two principal tribes claim our attention, the *Pelasgi* and the *Hellenes*. Both probably were of Asiatic origin; but the difference of their language characterized them as different tribes. The *Pelasgi* were the first that extended their dominion in Greece.

Early inhabitants of Greece.

PELASGI.

First seat of the *Pelasgi* in the Peloponnesus, under *Inachus*, about B. C. 1800. According to their own traditions, they make their first appearance in this quarter as uncultivated savages; they must, however, at an early period have made some progress towards civilization, since the most ancient states, *Argos* and *Sicyon*, owed their origin to them; and to them, perhaps, with great probability, are attributed the remains of those most ancient monuments generally termed *cyclopic*.—Spread of this tribe towards the north, particularly over *Attica*; settlement in *Thessaly* under their leaders *Achæus*, *Phthius*, and *Pelagus*; here they learned to apply to agriculture, and remained for 150 successive years; about 1700—1500.

FIRST
PERIOD.
HELLENES:

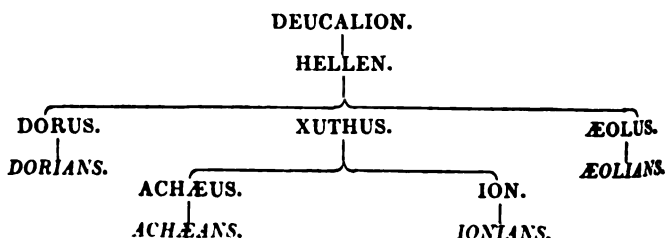
descend
southward,
about B. C.
1550.
and obtain
the ascend-
ant.

Hellenic
tribes.

2. The Hellenes,—so called subsequently from Hellen, one of their chieftains,—originally the weaker of the two tribes, make their first appearance in Phocis, near Parnassus, under king Deucalion; from whence they are driven by a flood. They migrate into Thessaly, and drive out the Pelasgi from that territory.—The Hellenes now become soon the dominant race, and spreading over Greece, expel the Pelasgi from almost every part: the latter tribe keep their footing only in Arcadia, and in the land of Dodona; some of them migrate to Italy, others to Crete, and various islands.

3. The Hellenic tribe subdivides itself into four principal branches, the *Æolians*, *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Achæans*; which continue afterwards to be distinguished and separated by many peculiarities of speech, of customs, of political government. These four tribes, although they must not be considered as comprising all the slender ramifications of the nation, are derived by tradition from Deucalion's immediate posterity; to whose personal history, therefore, the history of the tribes themselves and their migrations was attached.

This derivation of the tribes will be better understood by an inspection of the following genealogical table:



4. The gradual spread of the various branches of the Hellenic tribe over Greece was effected by several migrations between B. C. 1500—1300; after which they preserved the settlements they had already obtained until the later migration of the Dorians and Heraclidæ, about 1100.

FIRST
PERIOD.

Principal data for the history of the separate tribes in this period.

1. **ÆOLUS** follows his father Hellen into Phthiotis, which consequently remains the seat of the Æolians; they spread from thence over western Greece, Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, Locris, Elis in the Peloponnesus, and likewise over the western islands.

2. **DORUS** follows his father into Estiæotis, the most ancient seat of the Dorians. They are driven from thence after the death of Dorus by the Perrhæbi; spread over Macedonia and Crete; part of the tribe returns, crosses mount Ceta, and settles in the Tetrapolis Dorica, afterwards called Doris, where they remain until they migrate into Peloponnesus, under the guidance of the Heraclidæ; about 1100².

3. **XUTHUS**, expelled by his brothers, migrates to Athens, where he marries Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he has sons, Ion and Achæus. Ion and his tribe, driven out of Athens, settle in that part of Peloponnesus called Ægialus, a name which by them is converted into Ionia, and in later times exchanged for Achaia. The Achæans preserve their footing in Laconia and Argos, until the time of the Dorian migration.

† **L. D. HUELLMAN**, *Early Grecian History*, 1814. Rich in original views and conjectures, beyond which the early history of nations seldom extends.

† **D. C. OTFRIED MUELLER**, *History of the Hellenic Tribes and Cities*, 1820. vol. 1. containing, *Orchomenus and the Minyæ*; vols. 2, 3. containing the *Dorians*, 1825.

5. Besides these original inhabitants, colonies at the same early period came into Greece from civilized countries, from Egypt, Phœnicia, and

Colonies
settle in
Greece.

² See below, p. 127.

FIRST
PERIOD.

Mysia. The settlements of these strangers occurred probably between B. C. 1600—1400.

Establishment in Attica of the colony of Cecrops, from Sais in Egypt, about 1550; in Argos, of the colony of Danans; likewise from Egypt about 1500.—The colony of Cadmus, from Phœnicia, settles in Bœotia about 1550.—The colony of Pelops, from Mysia, settles in Argos about 1400.

Progress of
civilization
among the
Hellenes.

6. The mythology of the Hellenes proves beyond a doubt, that they were at first savages, like the Pelasgi, since they had to learn even the use of fire from Prometheus; yet it is equally clear that they must, even in the earliest period, particularly from 1300—1200, when they had ceased to migrate, have made the first important steps towards the attainment of a certain degree of civilization. About the time of the Trojan war they appear still as barbarians, but had ceased to be savages.

Was the
Hellenic
civilization
of native or
foreign
growth?

7. The origin and progress of this national organization, and the influence wrought upon it by foreign comers, are subjects difficult of discussion. If we allow that Cecrops was the first to introduce marriage in Attica, and that the cultivation of the land and of the olive was discovered in that country, it unquestionably follows, that the Hellenes were indebted to strangers for the foundation of domestic civilization. And when we consider that the families which subsequently held the sway descended directly from the most powerful of these new comers, their lasting influence can hardly be a matter of doubt. It must be, however, observed, that what the Greeks borrowed from strangers they previously stamped with their own peculiar character, so that it be-

came as it were the original property of the nation. The question, therefore, is deprived of much of the importance which it assumes at the first glance.

8. This was the case with all the branches of intellectual civilization, particularly with religion. That many deities and religious rites were introduced into Greece from Egypt, Asia, and Thrace, and generally through Crete, hardly admits of a doubt; but they did not remain Egyptian, Asiatic, Thracian, they became Grecian gods. Hence it appears that the investigation of those relations can hardly lead to any important conclusion. It is a fact, however, of the highest importance, that whatever gods the Greeks adopted, no insulated priesthood could constitute itself among them, still less any caste laying claim to the exclusive possession of knowledge; albeit several traces make it probable that many of the most ancient sanctuaries were settlements of Egyptian, Phœnician, or Cretan priests, who brought with them their worship. Although this worship consisted only in external form, many ideas and institutions were attached to it, which in this manner became the common property of the nation.

FIRST
PERIOD.

Hellenic religion derived from foreigners.

No sacerdotal caste in Greece.

9. By religion, therefore, principally was the rude mind in some measure polished. But it was the ancient minstrels, (*ᾠδοί*), Orpheus, Linus, etc. who, by the spread of religious ideas, succeeded so well in putting a period to revenge and the continuance of feuds. It was they who in their mysteries brought the narrow circle of initiated somewhat acquainted with the advantages of moral life.

Influence of the bards :

FIRST
PERIOD.

SAINTE-CROIX, *Recherches sur les Mystères du Paganisme*, Paris, 1765. Translated into German, with valuable observations, by C. G. LENZ ; Gotha, 1790.

of the ora-
cles :

10. Not less powerful were the workings of religion by means of the oracles, particularly those of Dodona and Delphi ; both of which together, perhaps, with that of Olympia, were originally ancient settlements of priests, such as we have before alluded to. The want which men felt of receiving counsel from these shrines, naturally led them to regard the oracles as the common property of the nation, access to which should be open to every one : it followed as an inevitable consequence, that the direction of affairs in which all were engaged, depended principally on those oracles.

A. VAN DALEN, *De Oraculis veterum Ethnicorum Dissertationes* 6. Amstel. 1700. A very valuable work. A comprehensive dissertation on the subject is, however, still wanting : a portion of it is treated of in

† J. GRODDEK, *De Oraculorum veterum, quæ in Herodoti libris continentur, natura commentatio* ; Gotting, 1786.

of the reli-
gious fes-
tivals :

11. It happened with Greece as with other countries ; the tender plant of civilization grew up under the shelter of the sanctuary. There the festivals were celebrated, and there the people assembled ; and various tribes who had hitherto been strangers to one another met in peace, and conversed on their common interests. Hence arose spontaneously the first idea of a law of nations, and those connections which led to its developement. Among these connections, that of the Amphictyons at Delphi was the most important, and continued the longest : it is probable that it did not assume its complete form till a

later period; yet it appears in early times to have adopted the principle, that none of the cities belonging to the league could be legally destroyed by the others.

† FR. WILH. TITTMANN, *Upon the Amphictyonic League*; 1812. A dissertation which gained the prize of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin.

12. To religion must likewise be added navigation, and the consequent intercourse which brought the nation in contact with strangers, and prepared it to receive civilization. It cannot be denied that the navigators continued long to be mere pirates; but as Minos of Crete cleared the sea of freebooters, the want of another state of things must have been felt long before.

13. In the mean while the chivalrous spirit of the nation was gradually aroused; and the blood of its youth began to flow in the heroic age. An affection for extraordinary undertakings was excited: it conducted the chieftains, not only individually, but also in conjunction, beyond the limits of the land of their forefathers. These undertakings were not only important in themselves, but their advantages were increased by the circumstance that they were preserved in the songs of their bards by means of a national poesy, such as no other people possessed, and such as contributed to the farther developement of the national genius.

Expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis somewhere about B. C. 1250; war of the seven confederate princes against Thebes about 1225; the town, however, was not taken until the second attempt made by the sons of the chiefs (Epigoni) in 1215.

14. Thus already every thing was ripe for some

FIRST
PERIOD.

of navigation:

about B. C.
1400.

Age of chivalry.

FIRST
PERIOD.
Effects of
the Trojan
war.

B. C. 1194
—1184.

great national undertaking of all the combined Hellenic races ; and that object was attained in the war against Troy. The most important result of that expedition was the kindling of one common national spirit,—a spirit which, in spite of all dissensions and feuds, was never wholly extinguished, and which necessarily ensued from an expedition made in common on so distant a field; that lasted ten years, and was crowned with such success. From the time of the Trojan war onwards the Hellenes looked upon themselves always as constituting one people.

General picture of the political state of Greece about the time of the Trojan war.—Division into several small states, the most powerful of which were Argos and Mycenæ.—In all those states hereditary chieftains or princes from a certain *family* (kings, βασιλεῖς,) who combined the offices of leader in war and judge in peace ; whose authority was more or less extended in proportion to the qualities they possessed, and particularly to their valour in battle.—Manner of life among the people : a nation dwelling in cities, but at the same time cultivating the land and tending the cattle, applying also to war, and already somewhat advanced in the art of navigation.

A. W. SCHLEGEL, *De Geographia Homeri Commentatio*. Hanov. 1788. A review of the political geography of Greece at this period.—On the topography of Troy :

LECHEVALIER, *Description de la Plaine de Troie*. Translated and accompanied with notes by HEYNE, Leipzig, 1794. Compare CLARKE, *Travels*, vol. i. c. 4—6, who has thrown doubts on the system of Lechevalier, which has, however, been again confirmed by LEAKE, *Travels in Asia Minor*.

SECOND PERIOD.

the Trojan war to the breaking out of the Persian war, B. C. 1200—1500.

rees. On no portion of the Grecian history is our information so scanty as upon this long period, in which we can be said to have more than a general knowledge of many of the most important events. As in the foregoing period, its comment is but a traditional and poetical history: it was not towards the end that the use of writing became common to the Greeks; add to which that the period itself was not marked by great national undertakings, such as might afford appropriate materials for the poet or historian. Besides the scattered information which may be gathered from Herodotus, Plutarch, and above all from the introduction to Thucydides's history, Pausanias must not be forgotten; who, in his description of Greece, has preserved an abundance of most valuable documents relating to the individual histories of the small states. The books of Diodorus belonging to this period are lost.

R. WILHELM TITTMANN, *Delineation of the Grecian History of Government*, 1822. An industrious collection of all the information we possess respecting this subject.

F. WACHSMUTH, *Hellenic Antiquities in a political point of view*, 1st vol. The time before the Persian war.

1. *History of the Hellenic states within Greece.*

The Trojan war was followed by a very dark period, in consequence of the many disorders in the ruling families, more especially in the house of Pelops. But more violent commotions arose, caused by the attempts of the rude tribes of the north, particularly of the Dorians, joined with the Ætolians, who, under the sanction of the descendants of Hercules, exiles

RETURN OF
THE HERA-
CLIDÆ:
about B. C.
1100.

SECOND PERIOD.

from Argos, strove to obtain possession of Peloponnesus. Those commotions shook Greece during a whole century, and as the seats of most of the Hellenic tribes were then changed, the consequences were lasting and important.

First unsuccessful attempt under Hyllus, son of Hercules, about 1180.—Repeated attempts, until at last the claims of the Heraclidæ are made good by the grandsons of Hyllus, Telephus and Cresphontes, together with Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of their brother Aristodemus, 1100.

Consequences of that great revolution.

2. Consequences resulting to the Peloponnesus from this migration. The territories of Argos, Sparta, Messene, and Corinth, wrested from the Achæans who had hitherto inhabited them, become Dorians; Elis falls to the share of the Ætolians, who had accompanied the Dorians. The Achæans expelled, in their turn expel the Ionians and settle in the country since called Achaia; the fugitive Ionians are received by their ancient kinsmen the Athenians. But among the consequences of this migration of the Hellenic races must be reckoned likewise the foundation of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor; an occurrence of the highest importance in the ulterior development of the nation: the colonization was commenced by the Æolian Hellenes, whose example was soon after followed by the Ionians, and even by the Dorians.

Colonies sent to Asia.

For the history of these colonies, see the following section.

Monarchies succeeded by republics.

3. The effect of these migrations and these wars, in which the ruder tribes oppressed the more civilized, must inevitably have been, not only to interrupt the progress of civilization, but even to annihilate it for the most part: yet in this

universal stir the foundation was laid of that constitution of things which afterwards existed in Greece. The tribes newly come, as well as those which had been expelled, remained at first under the rule of their hereditary princes; with some that form of government lasted a longer, with others a shorter time. In the two centuries, however, subsequent to the migrations, B. C. 1100—900, republican constitutions took the place of hereditary royalty in all the Grecian countries, the distant Epirus excepted. Those republics, amid various revolutions, continued to exist, and the love of political freedom deeply impressed on the minds of the people now constituted the principal feature in the national character.

4. The sequel proves that the principal cause of this change so important for Greece; this change, by which her future internal policy was for ever determined, originated in the progress made by the newly come tribes towards civic life, and consequently at the same time towards national civility. In this newly constituted order of things, each city of those days framed its own constitution; and hence arose as many free states as there were cities with their respective districts.

Origin of
the small
republics.

The notion that Greece contained as many states as countries is completely false, although it cannot be denied that the mode of expression in most writings upon Greek history seems to authorize the assertion. True it is that some of those countries, such as Attica, Megaris, Laconia, may be regarded each as one state, because each constituted the territory of one city. The others, however, such as Arcadia, Bœotia, etc. did not form each one state, but comprised as many separate states as there were free and independent cities with their respective districts. Still, however, it must be observed, that the natural ties of kindred subsisted; Arcadians, Bœotians, etc. spoke of one another as

SECOND
PERIOD.

of countrymen. *b* Voluntary connections were framed between different cities, and sometimes all the cities of a country, as, for instance, in Achaia: so that all formed a confederation; albeit, each individual city still preserved its own system of laws and government. Again, *c* in consequence of the greater power of some one city, that city would assume a sort of dominion over the other; as, for instance, that of Thebes over the Boeotian cities: that dominion, however, was always tottering, and depended upon the circumstances of the times. *d* It must likewise be observed, that the constitution of each separate city underwent many changes, wrought generally by overweening citizens, (tyrants,) who not only possessed themselves of the supreme power, but also contrived frequently to make it for some time an heirloom in their families. Every one will easily discern that the above are the fundamental ideas for the Grecian history, which cannot be too clearly conceived, or too correctly defined; since it is self-evident what a wide field was by such a constitution of things thrown open to practical politics. The more improbable was the attainment of fixed constitutions in the separate cities, the more frequent must have been the political attempts; (attempts facilitated by the narrow extent of the state;) and the more frequently those attempts failed, the more extensive in this intellectual people became the mass of political ideas; the results of which in later times were the legislative codes of a Solon and of others.

Unity of the
small Gre-
cian states.

5. Although Greece was thus parcelled into a number of small states, united by no common political bond, yet there existed a certain unity of the Hellenic race, a certain national spirit: these were produced in part by national festivals and games, occurring at stated periods, among which those in honour of Jupiter at Olympia were the chief, at which the nation appeared in all its splendour; and at which all Hellenes, but none others, were admitted to participate. They were likewise produced in part by the extension of the Amphictyonic council: why this last institution was not followed by all the consequences which

might have been expected from its formation, is accounted for by what naturally happens in every great confederation so soon as some of the component states become too powerful.

SECOND
PERIOD.

The Amphictyonic council was certainly not a states-general, in which all national affairs were debated. Its immediate office was to attend to the temples and the oracles of Delphi. But then it must be observed, 1st, that from this council originated the Grecian ideas of the right of nations; over the preservation of which the Amphictyons watched. 2. In consequence of its political influence on the oracle, this council, in certain cases, was enabled to take a share in the affairs of the different states. 3. The Amphictyons always constituted a national institution, since none but Hellenes were admitted.

ST. CROIX, *Des anciens gouvernemens fédératifs, et de la législation de Crète*, Paris, 1796. One of the most invaluable inquiries, not only into the institutions of the Amphictyons, but also into other subjects of Grecian antiquity connected therewith.

6. Of the different states of Greece, Sparta and Athens, even at this period, became prominent, not only in consequence of their greater power, but also in consequence of their constitutions and legislative codes: and although it cannot be said that from this time the history of the rest of Greece is linked with that of those two cities, yet they claim our particular attention.

Sparta and
Athens.

7. History of Sparta. The Achæans had been governed by princes of the house of Perseus, and, after Menelaus's accession to the throne by marriage, by princes from the house of Pelops: when they had been expelled by the Dorians, Laconica fell by lot to the sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes, between whose families the royal power was divided, so that two kings constantly reigned in common, one from each family.

Revolutions
in the go-
vernment of
Sparta.

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† Families of the Proclidæ and Ægidæ; the latter so called from Agis the son and successor of Eurysthenes.

† J. C. F. MANSO, *Sparta, an essay towards an explanation of the history and constitution of that state*, Leipzig, 1800 sqq. 3 vols. The main work upon this state; abounding likewise in inquiries into various connected points of Grecian history.

CRAGIUS, *De Republica Lacedæmoniorum*, 1642.

MEURSIUS, *De regno Laconico*; and *Miscellanea Laconica*. Both industrious compilations.

Conquests
of the Do-
rians.

8. The Dorians now gradually conquered the many cities of the country, and there established themselves; they became, if not the only, at least the ruling inhabitants, inasmuch as the Achæans that remained were made slaves of. No long time, however, elapsed ere the city of Sparta assumed to herself the supremacy of the whole country, and ever preserved it; the other towns, which were formerly considerable, becoming unfortified, defenceless, and insignificant places.

Relation between the Spartan citizens of the capital as a ruling body, and the Lacedæmonians, or *περίοικοι*, inhabitants of the country, as subjects who paid tribute and military service. Even in the time of Agis, the successor of Eurysthenes, this subjection was effected by force; the inhabitants of Helos were, as a punishment for their opposition, converted into slaves; while the others, by the sacrifice of their political freedom, preserved their personal liberty, however confined it might be.

Repeated
wars of the
Spartans.

9. The history of the two following centuries, to the time of Lycurgus, exhibits nothing but the repeated wars of the Spartans with their neighbours the Argians; their domestic broils, which proceeded from the too unequal division of property, from the feuds, and the diminished power of the kings, and which lasted until Lycurgus, the uncle and guardian of the minor king, Charilaus, about the year 880, gave to Sparta that constitu-

tion to which she was principally indebted for her subsequent splendour.

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Explanation of the chief heads of the Spartan constitution. Some preliminary observations are necessary. *a* As the legislation of Lycurgus occurred at so early a period, and as his laws were not written, but implied in apophthegms, (ῥήτραι,) which were confirmed by the oracle of Delphi, many things of a later origin have been attributed to Lycurgus. *b* Much of that which is rightly attributed to him was not original, but deduced from ancient Dorian institutions, which being nearly upon the decline, were now reestablished by force of law. Hence it follows, the legislation of Lycurgus must naturally have had many points of resemblance with that of the Cretans, likewise of Dorian origin, although much, as we are told, was directly borrowed from them. *c* The principal object of the laws of Lycurgus was to ensure the existence of Sparta by creating and supporting a vigorous and uncorrupted race of men. Hence those laws had a more peculiar reference to private life and physical education, than to the constitution of the state in which the legislator appears to have introduced but few alterations.

In reference to the constitution: 1. The relation which had hitherto existed between the Spartans as a dominant people, and the Lacedæmonians as subjects was preserved. 2. The two kings, from the two ruling families, were likewise preserved, as leaders in war and first magistrates in peace. On the other hand, 3. to Lycurgus is attributed the institution of a senate, (γερούσια,) consisting of twenty-eight members, none of whom could be less than 60 years old, who were to be chosen by the people for life, and were to constitute the king's council in public affairs. 4. Whether the college of the 5 Ephori annually chosen, was originally instituted by Lycurgus, or at some later period, is a question impossible to decide, but of little importance, since the great power of this college, to which every thing was finally referred as the highest tribunal of the state, was certainly assumed subsequently to Lycurgus. 5. Besides the above, there were likewise the popular assemblies, convened according to the division into φύλας and ὀβας, at which none but Spartans could assist: their privileges extended no farther than to approve or reject the measures proposed to them by the kings and the senate.

In the laws relative to private life Lycurgus proceeded upon the principle of making the Spartans a society of citizens, as far

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as possible on a level as to their property and mode of life, and each of whom should be deeply impressed with the conviction that he was the property of his country, which claimed a blind obedience at his hands. Hence 1. The new division of the lands, 9000 portions to the Spartans, and 30,000 to the Lacedæmonians; permission being given to dispose of those portions by entail or gift, but not by sale. 2. The removal as far as possible of every species of luxury, particularly by means of the daily joint messes (*συσσίτια*) of all the citizens, according to their divisions, in which the commons were settled by law. 3. The complete organization of domestic society in relation both to husband and wife, parents and children, which was so framed as to further, even at the cost of morality, the grand political object, the production of vigorous and sound citizens of both sexes. 4. Hence, finally, the condition of the slaves, comprehended under the general name of *he-lots*, who, although they may be regarded nearly as *serfs*, were likewise the property of the state, which had the right of using them in war.—Easy, however, as it is to enumerate thus generally the principal heads of the Spartan constitution, the want of sufficient documents renders it difficult and oftentimes impossible to answer a crowd of questions, which may be easily put by those who penetrate more deeply into the subject. Still more remarkable even than the constitution itself, no doubt, is the long time of its duration, nearly 400 years, without any observable change; the more remarkable, I say, inasmuch as the Spartans at this period soon began to become conquerors. Indeed it could no longer be expected that any durable peace should exist in Greece now that the centre of the country was occupied by a military commonwealth, whose citizens must have been, by the restlessness common to man, impelled to war, since all the occupations of household life and of agriculture were left to the care of slaves.

Besides the works mentioned above, p. 119.

HEYNE, *De Spartanorum republica Judicium*; inserted in *Commentat. Soc. Gotting.* vol. ix. Intended to correct the partial opinions of DE PAUW.

Wars of the
Spartans in
Peloponne-
sus.

10. Soon after the time of Lycurgus commenced the war of the Spartans with their neighbours, the Argians, the Arcadians, but more particularly the Messenians. The wars with these

last appear to have originated in an old grudge on the part of the Dorian tribe, proceeding from the unequal division of lands at the occupation of Peloponnesus: it is evident, nevertheless, that the quarrel between the two nations was mainly fostered by the ambition of the Spartan kings, who wrought upon a superstitious multitude by oracular responses and interpretations.

Unimportant wars with Tegea and Argos; and controversies with Messene, 783—745.

First Messenian war, 742—722, terminated by the capture of the frontier place Ithome, after the voluntary death of the Messenian king Aristodemus.—The Messenians become tributary to the Spartans, and are obliged to give up one half of the revenues of their lands.—Occurrences during this war: 1. Institution, according to some authorities, of the college of Ephori as vicegerents of the kings in their absence, and arbitrators in the quarrels which might arise between the kings and the senate. 2. The power of the people so far limited, that the popular assemblies shall make no alterations in the resolutions of the senate and the kings proposed to them, but confine themselves merely to a vote of approval or rejection. 3. Insurrection of the Parthenii and Helots becomes the motive for sending out colonies; a measure to which Sparta had more than once recourse for the maintenance of domestic tranquillity.

Second Messenian war, 682—668, waged by the Messenians under the command of their hero Aristomenes, by the Spartans under that of Tyrtæus, who fanned the flame of war until the contest was terminated by the capture of the strong town Ira. The Messenian territory is divided among the conquerors, and the conquered inhabitants become like the helots, agricultural slaves.

11. Although the territory of the Spartans was greatly increased by these Messenian wars, the nation seems to have been a long time before it recovered from the struggle, and to have raised itself by slow steps to the first rank among the Dorian states, extending its boundaries at the expense of the Argians and Arcadians.

Sparta takes
the lead
among the
Dorian
states.

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Wars with Tegea for the most part unsuccessful; and with Argos, for the possession of Thyrea and the island of Cythera; by the accession of which the Spartan territory received an important augmentation, about 550.

First interference of Sparta in affairs without the peninsula.

12. These wars within Peloponnesus were not of such a nature as to give rise to any remarkable changes in the Spartan constitution, and for a long time the nation refused to take any share in foreign affairs. But as soon as king Cleomenes, who at last procured the deposition of his colleague, Demaratus, had meddled with the Athenian concerns, the seeds of strife were scattered between those two republics. The Persian war next ensued, in which Sparta was obliged to bear part, although Cleomenes had refused to participate in the insurrection of Aristagoras: that struggle, together with the idea of supremacy in Greece which now took its rise, introduced a multitude of circumstances hitherto unknown.

History of Athens.

13. The history of Athens during this period is rendered important, rather by the domestic changes, which gradually tended to convert the state into a republic, than by external aggrandizement. The situation and peculiarities of Attica, by which it was less exposed than other parts of Greece to the attacks and forays of wandering hordes, here facilitated the gradual and tranquil growth of national prosperity; the traces of which are incontestable, however difficult it may be for the critic to place every thing in such a perspicuous light as the historian might wish.

The history of Athens, of course, constitutes a main part of the works mentioned above, p. 119. Besides which:

W. YOUNG, *The history of Athens politically and philosophically considered*. London, 1796. 4to. Rather argumentation than history.

CORSINI, *Fasti Attici*. Florent. 1747. 4 vols. 4to. A most careful chronological essay. SECOND PERIOD.

1. Period of kingly government down to 1068. The history of Athens as a state begins properly with Theseus, who succeeded his father Ægeus, about B. C. 1300. Although certain institutions, such as that of the areopagus, the division of the people into nobles, (*εὐπατρίδαι*), husbandmen, (*γεωργοί*), and mechanics: (*δημαῖοργοί*) a division which recalls to our memory the Egyptian institutions, are perhaps of an earlier date, and may be ascribed to the colony of Cecrops. Theseus was, however, in some measure the founder of the state, since, instead of the four districts, (*δῆμοι*), hitherto independent of one another, he constituted the city of Athens as the only seat of government. Among his successors the attention of the student is directed to Mnestheus, who fell before Troy; and the last king Codrus, who by a voluntary sacrifice of his life, rescued Attica from the inroads of the Dorians, 1068.

2. Period of archons for life, taken from the family of Codrus, 13 of whom ruled; 1068—752. The first was Medon, the last Alcmaeon. These archons succeeded like the kings, by inheritance, but were accountable for their administration, (*ἐπεὶθυνοί*).—At the commencement of this period occurs the migrations of the Ionians from Attica to Asia Minor, 1044. See below.

3. Period of the decennial archons, seven of whom succeeded between 752—682. These likewise were taken from the family of Codrus. The period is devoid of remarkable occurrences.

4. Period extending to Solon, 682—594. that of nine archons yearly chosen, but so arranged that the prerogatives of the former kings were divided among the three first of the nine. With respect to this, as well as to the other changes above mentioned, we know little of the causes which produced them, or of the manner in which they were brought about. Rise of an oppressive aristocracy, (like that of the patricians at Rome, immediately after the expulsion of the kings,) both the archons and the members of the areopagus being elected only from the noble families. First attempt at legislation by Draco, 622, which appears only to have consisted in a criminal code, rendered unavailing by its severity.—The insurrection of Cylon, 598; in consequence of the manner in which it was quelled, turned out most injurious to the aristocratic party, inasmuch as the nobles drew upon themselves the pollution of blood, which, even after the purification of Epimenides, 593, was long used as a pretext for commotion. The

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political factions of the Pedæi, of the Diacrii, and of the Parhali, produced an anarchy at Athens, during which the neighbouring Megarians took possession of the island of Salamis; a conquest which, however, was subsequently wrested from them by Solon.

Solon's legislation,
B. C. 594.

14. From this state of anarchy Athens was rescued by Solon; a man to whom not only Athens, but the whole human race, owes a deep debt of gratitude. He was chosen archon, and at the same time charged to give a better constitution to Athens: in executing the task which he had undertaken, he laid the foundation of the happiness of his native country.

Explanation of the chief heads of Solon's legislation. Its main object was to abolish the oppressive aristocracy, without for that reason introducing a mere democracy. 1. Provisional laws: abolition of the statutes of Draco, those against murder excepted: law enacted for the relief of debtors, (σεισαχθεία, novæ tabulæ,) not so much by cancelling the debts as by diminishing the amount by a rise in the value of money; and likewise by ensuring the personal freedom of the debtor. 2. Fundamental laws, both in reference to the constitution and in reference to private life and private rights.—Constitution of the state. a Organization of the people by means of divisions: according to property into 4 classes; the Pentacosimedimni, or those who had a yearly income of 500 medimni; the equites, (ἵππεῖς,) who had 400; the Zeugitæ, who had 300; and the Thetes, (capite censi,) whose yearly revenue did not amount to so much.—The ancient divisions according to heads, into wards, (φύλας,) of which there were 4, and according to residence into demi, (hundreds,) of which 170 are enumerated, were preserved. b None but citizens of the 3 first classes could fill all the offices of the state; but all were admitted to the popular assemblies, and had right of vote in the courts of judicature. c The 9 archons annually chosen, who acted as supreme magistrates, although not permitted to assume military office at the same time, remained at the head of the state; the first bearing the name of ἐπάνομος, the second of βασιλεύς, the third of πολέμαρχος, the remaining 6, that of Thesmo-thetæ. Combined with the archons was d The council, (βουλὴ.)

which consisted of a body of 400 persons annually taken from the three first classes of citizens; (100 from each ward;) these were chosen by lot, but were obliged to submit to a rigid examination (*δοκιμασία*) before they entered upon office. The archons were obliged to consult the 400 on every occurrence; and nothing could be carried down to the commons until it had been previously debated in this council. *e* To the people, consisting of the whole four classes, was reserved the right in its assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*) of confirming the laws, of electing the magistrates, of debating all public affairs referred to them by the council, as likewise the public distribution of justice. *f* The *areopagus* was, according to Solon's plan, to be the main buttress of the constitution; that tribunal had hitherto been a mere tool in the hands of the aristocracy. It was composed of the archons who had gone out of office, and remained not only the supreme tribunal in capital cases, but likewise was charged with the superintendence of morals, with the censorship upon the conduct of the archons who went out of office, and had the prerogative of amending and rescinding the measures that had been approved of by the commons. The power of this court, which might easily have become equal to the college of Ephori at Sparta, might at first have been supposed too extensive, had not experience shown the fatal consequences of the reduction of that power by Pericles. This alloy of aristocracy and democracy certainly gives proof of a deep insight into the nature of republican constitutions; but Solon is not less entitled to praise by his endeavours to place the helm of government in the hands only of the most enlightened and prudent citizens. It must likewise be observed, that the code for private life given by Solon exhibits the genius of a man who regarded polity as subordinate to morals, and not like Lycurgus, morals as subordinate to polity.

SAM. PETITUS, *De Legibus Atticis*, 1635. fol. The best compilation and illustration of the fragments of the Attic law.

CHR. BUNSEN, *De jure Atheniensium hereditario, ex Isæo caterisque oratoribus Græcis ducto*, Goett. 1812. The right of inheritance was one of the main parts of Solon's legislation; the explanation of it leads deep into the constitution, so far as connected with government by clans or families.

An explanation of the Athenian constitution will be likewise found in the above-mentioned works of Tittmann, Kruser, and Wachsmuth.

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Tyranny
established
in Athens
by Pisistratus.

15. As in the reforms of other states, the legislation of Solon was not followed by the total extinction of party spirit. It was consonant to the natural order of things, that the commons, now free, should try a fall with the aristocrats, and that after the defeat of the aristocrats, the leader of the commons should grasp the rudder of the state without, therefore, necessarily abrogating Solon's constitution. Modern history has proved with sufficient evidence, that the frame-work of a republic may easily subsist under the rule of an usurper. And would that all republics might fall into the hands of such a tyrant as was Pisistratus!

First exaltation of Pisistratus, 561, procured by his obtaining a body guard; flight of the Alcæonidæ under Megacles. Pisistratus expelled, 560.—Second exaltation of Pisistratus procured by his matrimonial connexion with the family of Megacles, 556—552.—His second expulsion by Megacles, 552—538.—His third exaltation; obtains the power by force of arms, and preserves it to the day of his death, 538—528. Flight of the Alcæonidæ into Macedonia, where the malecontents collect around them. Pisistratus is succeeded by his sons Hipparchus and Hippias, who rule conjointly until 514, when the elder is murdered by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The Alcæonidæ emigrants, having bribed the Delphian oracle, bring over the Spartans to their interest: backed by a Persian army, they take possession of Athens in 510; Hippias is deposed, and afterwards flies over to the Persians.

Changes in
Solon's con-
stitution.

16. This return of the Alcæonidæ was followed by a change in the constitution of Solon. Clisthenes, the son of Megacles, with a view, it appears, of quenching party spirit by a new combination of the citizens, increased the number of wards to ten, and that of the members of the council to five hundred.—But Athens had to pur-

chase the continuance of her freedom by a struggle, in which Sparta united with the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and aided by Ægina, sought to reestablish tyranny in Attica; first in the person of Isagoras, the rival of Clisthenes, and afterwards in that of the exiled Hippias. But the more glorious the success of this first struggle in defence of freedom was to the republic, the more mighty waxed the national spirit. Impelled by that spirit, Athens suffered herself to be induced to share in the war for freedom, fought by the Asiatic Greeks under Aristagoras; and the audacity which led to the firing of Sardis, drew upon Attica the vengeance of the Persians, without which, no doubt, neither Athens nor Greece would ever have attained to that pitch which they ultimately reached.

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B.C. 507—
504.

17. Of the history of the other states of Greece we have at best but few data, and even these in several are very scanty. Towards the end of this period Sparta and Athens had, no doubt, exalted themselves above the rest, and were recognised, one as the first among the Dorian, the latter as the first among the Ionian states; yet had Sparta more than once met with rivals in Messene, Argos, and Tegea: Athens had had to contend with Megara and Ægina. Sparta and Athens had, nevertheless, not only the best constitutions, but had likewise possessed a more extended territory than any other of the great cities.

History of
the other
Grecian
states.

SECOND
PERIOD.*Principal data for the history of the smaller states.*I. *Within the Peloponnesus.*

a. Arcadia. The Arcadian traditions enumerate a line of kings or hereditary princes, said to have ruled over the whole of Arcadia; the line commences with Arcas and his son Lycaon, whose successors kept possession of the power, and shared more or less in the ancient feuds, of the Hellenic princes. At the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, Arcadia was the only land that did not suffer by the irruption: an advantage for which it was probably indebted more to its mountains, than to the skill of Cypselus its king in those days. The successors of that prince took a part in the wars between the Messenians and Spartans, siding with the former: but in the second Messenian war, the last Arcadian king, Aristocrates II. having betrayed his allies, was in consequence stoned to death by his subjects, and the kingship was abolished in Arcadia, 668. Arcadia now crumbled into as many small states as it contained cities with their separate districts; among these Tegea and Mantinea are the chief, and probably held the others in a certain state of control, without, however, depriving them wholly of their independence. As might be expected to be the case in a pastoral nation, the constitution must have been democratical. In Mantinea there were wardens of the people, (θημουργοί,) and a senate, (βουλή.) The wars of the separate cities are frequently mentioned, but no general confederation united them.

† See A. VON BREITENBAUCH, *History of Arcadia*, 1791.

b. Argos. Even previously to the Dorian migration, the country of Argolis was parcelled into several small kingdoms, such as those of Argos, Mycenæ, and Tiryns. In Argos, next to Sicynus, the oldest state of Greece, ruled the forefathers of Persens, who exchanged the kingdom of his ancestors for Tiryns: here his successors continued to reign till the time of Hercules, whose sons expelled by Eurystheus, sought an asylum among the Dorians.—In Mycenæ, said to have been built by Persens, the throne was occupied by the family of Pelops: at the period of the Trojan war, this little state, to which then belonged Corinth and Sicynus, was the most mighty in Greece, and governed by Agamemnon. The migration into this country by Pelops from Asia Minor, must have been attended with important consequences, since it has given the name to the whole peninsula: the object of Pelops,

as we may infer from the riches he brought with him, was probably to establish a trading settlement.—At the Dorian conquest Argos fell to the share of Temenus, the Achæans were expelled, and the country was peopled by Dorians. So early as the reign of Cissus, son of Temenus, the royal power was so straitened, that the successors of that prince hardly preserved aught but the name of kings: about 984 the kingship was wholly abrogated, and its place was supplied by a republican constitution; concerning the domestic organization of which we know nothing more than that at Argos the government was in the hands of a senate, (*βουλὴ*), of a college of eighty citizens, (*οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα*), and of magistrates, who bore the name of *ἀπύρνοι*: in Epidaurus, however, there was a body of 180 citizens who chose from among themselves the senate, the members of which were called *ἀπύρνοι*. As in the other states of Greece so in Argolis, there were as many independent states as there were cities; in the north Argos, Mycenæ, and Tiryns; in the south Epidaurus and Trœzen. The two last preserved their independency; but Mycenæ was destroyed by the Argians in 425, and the inhabitants of Tiryns were forcibly transplanted to Argos. The district of Argos, therefore, comprised the northern portion of the country called Argolis; but not the southern portion, which belonged to the towns situated therein.

c. Corinth. In this place, previously to the time of the Dorian migration, the house of Sisyphus held to the royal power; and even at that early period Corinth is extolled by Homer for her wealth. The Dorians drove out the original inhabitants; and Aletes, belonging to the race of Hercules, became king about 1089; the posterity of that prince held the sceptre down to the fifth generation. After the death of the last king, Telessus, 777, the family of the Bacchiadæ, likewise a branch of the family of Hercules, took possession of the power and introduced an oligarchy, electing annually from among themselves a Prytane. At last, in 657, Cypselus got the upper hand; he was succeeded, 627, by his son Periander; both father and son were equally conspicuous by their avarice and cruelty. Periander (*d.* 587) was succeeded by his nephew Psammetichus, who reigned till 564, when the Corinthians asserted their freedom. With regard to the internal organization of the republic, little more is known than that there were at Corinth assemblies of the commons and a senate, (*γερονσία*): the government appears to have been the aristocracy of a trading state; for even the Bacchiadæ, at least

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some of them, were merchants.—The Corinthian commerce consisted chiefly in the exchange of Asiatic and Italian goods, and therefore was mostly carried on by sea: for such a trade the city of Corinth offered many advantages, particularly if we consider the state of navigation in those times; but the sea trade of Corinth, however profitable it was to the citizens, and even to the state, in consequence of the customs, cannot be considered as very extensive.—The colonies of Corinth in the west were principally Corcyra, Epidamnus, Leucas, Syracuse; in the east Potidæa: these colonies would have fain asserted a sort of independence, but never succeeded for any length of time in so doing. In consequence of those colonies, as well as of the necessity of protecting the trader from the pirates, Corinth grew to be a naval power; she invented triremes, and at the early date of 664 gave battle to the Corcyræans at sea. On the other hand, her wars by land were generally waged with the assistance of foreign subsidiaries; and from the facility with which she was enabled to pay her mercenaries, she was the more ready to meddle with the domestic wars of Greece.

d. Sicyon. Tradition represents this state, together with Argos, as the most ancient in Greece; the catalogues of early kings and princes, who are said to have reigned at this place, make it probable that in early antiquity some settlements of priests were made in this quarter. In the times previous to the migration of the Dorians, Sicyon was first inhabited by the Ionians; at the Trojan war, however, it made part of Agamemnon's kingdom. At the Dorian irruption, Phalces, son of Temenus, took possession of Sicyon, which now became a Dorian city. After the abrogation of the kingship, the date of which is not precisely known, the constitution assumed the form of an uncurbed democracy, which, as usual, paved the way for the usurpation of one individual. Orthagoras and his posterity, the last and most celebrated of whom was Clisthenes, ruled over Sicyon during a whole century; 700—600. After the restoration of her freedom, Sicyon frequently suffered from revolutions; and the period of her splendour occurs in the latter days of Greece, when she became a member of the Achaean league.

e. Achaia. During the spread of the Hellenes, this country, which till then had borne the name of Ægialus, was taken possession of by Ion, expelled from Athens, and his tribe, who from their leader took the name of Ionians: the country remained in the hands of the Ionians until the Dorian migration, when the

Achæans, driven out of Argos and Laconia, pressed into the northern parts of Peloponnesus under Tisamenus, son of Orestes: they settled in the land of the Ionians, and the power of the chieftain descended to his posterity, until the tyranny of the last sovereign of that race, Gyges, (of date undetermined,) produced the abolition of monarchy. Achaia thereupon was parcelled into 12 small republics, or so many cities with their respective districts, each of which comprised 7 or 8 cantons. All these republics had democratic constitutions, and were mutually united by a league, founded on the most perfect equality; and which was dissolved only by the policy of the Macedonian kings, although that dissolution itself gave rise to the *Achaean* league, in subsequent times of such high importance. The Achæans lived in peace and happiness, inasmuch as they had not the vanity, until the Peloponnesian war, of meddling with foreign affairs: their constitutions were so renowned, that they were adopted by several Grecian cities in other countries.

f. Elis. The inhabitants in the earlier times bore the name of Epeans, which, like that of Eleans, was traced to one of their ancient kings. The names of these their most ancient hereditary princes, Endymion, Epeus, Eleus, Augias, are celebrated among the poets. It appears that this country was divided into several small kingdoms, since at the period of the Trojan war it contained 4, to which likewise must be added Pylus in Triphylia, a territory usually reckoned as belonging to Elis. At the epoch of the Dorian migration the Ætolians, who had accompanied the Dorians, headed by their chieftain Oxylus, settled in Elis; but permitted the ancient inhabitants to abide in the country. Among the successors of Oxylus was Iphitus the contemporary of Lycurgus, and celebrated as the restorer of the Olympian games. To the celebration of those games Elis was indebted for the tranquil splendour which distinguished her from this time; her territory being regarded as sacred, although she had some wars to support with her neighbours, the Arcadians, for precedence at the games. After the abolition of kingship supreme magistrates were chosen, to whose office was added the charge of superintending the games: (*Hellandicæ*.) These magistrates were at first two; they were afterwards increased to ten, one from each tribe, although their number frequently changed with that of the tribes themselves. There must likewise have been a senate, consisting of 90 persons, who held their places for life, since Aristotle makes mention of that branch of the Elean con-

SECOND PERIOD. substitution. The city of Elis was first built in 477; until then the Eleans resided in different small hamlets.

II. *Central Greece, or Hellas.*

a. Megaris. Until the epoch of the Dorian migration generally formed part of the domain of the Attic kings; or at least was governed by princes of that house; immediately previous to that event, the Megarians, after the assassination of their last sovereign, Hyperion, placed the government in the hands of magistrates elected for stated periods. At the time of the Dorian irruption, under the reign of Codrus, Megara was occupied by Dorians, more especially those of Corinth, who consequently reckoned the city among their colonies, and during the sway of the Bacchiadæ endeavoured to keep it in a state of dependency; a circumstance which gave rise to several wars. Nevertheless Megara supported her rank as a separate state, both in those and many subsequent wars among the Greeks: wars in which she partook both by sea and by land. About the year 600, Theagenes, step-father of the Athenian Cylon, had possessed himself of the supreme power; after the expulsion of that tyrant, the republican constitution was once more restored, but soon after merged into mob government. Megara, however, even at the period of the Persian war, in which she took a glorious share, appears to have recovered the character of a well-ordered state, although we have no information respecting her domestic organization.

b. Boeotia. History mentions several very early races in Boeotia, such as the Aones, Hyantes, etc. with these were mingled Phœnician emigrants, who had come into the country under the guidance of Cadmus. The stock of Cadmus became the ruling family, and remained so for a long time: the history of his descendants, who were kings of Thebes, and comprised in their dominion the greatest part of Boeotia, constitutes a main branch of Grecian mythology: among them were Œdipus, Laius, Eteocles, and Polynices. After the capture of Thebes by the Epigoni, 1215, the Boeotians were pushed out by Thracian hordes, and settled in Arne of Thessaly; at the time of the Dorian migration they returned to the land of their forefathers, and mingled with the Æolians of those quarters. Not long after, Xuthus having departed life, royalty was abolished, 1126. Boeotia now divided into as many small states as it reckoned cities; of these, next to Thebes, the most eminent were the towns of Platæa, Thespa-

Tanagra, and Chæronea, each of which had its own separate district and peculiar form of government; but all those constitutions appear to have been commuted into oligarchies about the time of the Persian war. Such even had been the case with Thebes, although she had received a legislator from Corinth, Philolaus; but the code given by that individual cannot have been attended with the results proposed, as the government was continually flitting between a licentious democracy and an oligarchy. The Bœotian cities were, however, mutually united by a league, at the head of which stood Thebes; but Thebes gradually converted her right of precedence into a right of power, although her ambitious attempts were resisted to the death by the separate cities, and by Platææ in particular: hence sprung many wars. The general affairs were decided upon in four assemblies, (*βουλαι*), held in the four districts into which Bœotia was divided; these assemblies combined elected eleven Bœotarchs, who stood at the head of the federation as supreme magistrates and field marshals. The great extent and population of their territory might have enabled the Bœotians to act the first part on the theatre of Greece, had they not been impeded by their vile forms of civic governments, by the envy felt against Thebes, and by the want of union which thence ensued. Yet in subsequent times the example of Epaminondas and Pelopidas gave proof that the genius of two men was sufficient to surmount all those obstacles.

c. Phocis was originally ruled by kings descended, it is said, from Phocus, the leader of a colony from Corinth. The kingship was abolished about the time of the Dorian migration; but the form of the republican constitution which succeeded remains undetermined; and of the undertakings of the Phocians previous to the Persian invasion, we know nothing more than that they waged war with the Thessalians, and were successful. As history never mentions the Phocians but in the aggregate, the whole territory must have formed but one independent state. To that state, however, the city of Delphi did not belong, which had its own constitution: the city of Crissa with its fertile district, and its harbour of Cirrha, constituted a separate state, which derived wealth by practising extortions upon the pilgrims to Delphi: this state lasted till 600, when, in consequence of the insults of the Crissæans to the Delphian oracle, a war was proclaimed against them by the Amphictyons, which in 590 terminated by

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the raising of Crissa; the land of which was thenceforward added to the sacred glebe of Delphi.

d. Locris. Although we learn from early history that the Locrians also had their kings,—among whom Ajax, son of Oileus, is renowned in the Trojan war,—and that they likewise in subsequent times adopted a republican form of government; yet the date of that revolution, and the manner in which it was brought about, are not known. The three tribes of Locrians remained politically distinct. The Locri Ozolæ, west of Phocis, possessed the most extensive territory; each city of which stood independent, albeit Amphissa is quoted as the capital. The country of the Locri Opuntii, eastward, consisted of the district appertaining to the city of Opus; of their domestic organization, as well as that of their neighbours, the Locri Epicnemidii, we know nothing.

e. Ætolia. The Ætolians remained the most rude and uncivilized of all the Hellenic races; they were little more than a band of freebooters, and carried on their predatory excursions both by sea and land. Renowned as are the names of their earliest heroes, Ætolus, Peneus, Meleager, Diomedes, this people vanishes from the sphere of history in the flourishing days of Greece. Nor did they acquire any celebrity until the Macedo-Roman period, when the various insignificant tribes of which they were composed gathered together, chose one common leader, and carried war against the Achæans. The earlier period of their history seems, however, to afford no previous example of such a union: their political constitution in those times is wholly unknown.

f. Acarnania. This country derived its name from Acarnan, son of Alcmenon, both of whom are adduced as its earliest kings. In the Trojan age it appears beyond a doubt, that some part at least of this country was subject to the governors of the island of Ithaca. When and how a republican government was introduced among the Acarnanians, and what were the peculiarities of that government we know not. All that can be distinguished through the veil of time is, that here likewise the different cities, the most important of which was Stratus, had each its own form of government. Those cities in the exigencies of circumstances were wont to combine; and out of that practice in later times, during the Macedonian period, grew up a permanent confederation. The city and district of Argos Amphilocheicum constituted

a separate state, which endured a long time, and flourished greatly; it derived its name from Amphiloehus, the founder. The inhabitants, however, driven out by the Ambracians, whom they had themselves called in, sought assistance at the hands of the Acarnanians. Backed by the Athenians, the Acarnanians replaced the exiles in possession of their city, which thenceforward was inhabited in common by Amphiloehians and Acarnanians, and was almost constantly engaged in war with Ambracia.

III. *Northern Greece.*

a. The importance of Thessaly in the earliest history of Greece, may be gathered from the principal data enumerated above for the history of the Pelasgi and of the Hellenes. From this country it was that the Hellenes proceeded and spread over Greece; and here likewise they preserved their seat. In the Trojan age Thessaly contained ten small kingdoms, governed by hereditary princes, several of whom, such as Achilles and Philoctetes, reckon among the most renowned heroes of those days. In the period subsequent to the Trojan war and the Dorian migration, Thessaly must have experienced political revolutions similar to those of the other Grecian countries; but neither the time nor the manner in which those revolutions occurred can be ascertained. All that can be deduced from the subsequent history is, that if the Thessalian cities ever did recover their political freedom, they were unable to maintain it; for in the two most eminent cities, Pheræ and Larissa, to whose history that of the whole country is closely linked, the supreme power had fallen into the hands of individual usurpers, who appear to have kept possession of it almost without interruption. Even before the breaking out of the Persian war, Larissa was under the rule of the Aleuada; a family who pretended descent from Hercules, and are specially denominated by Herodotus kings of the Thessalians. They preserved their power until the Macedonian period.—In Pheræ arose about the year 380, a tyrant, Jason his name, who extended his dominion not only over Thessaly, but likewise over several of the tribes of the neighbouring barbarians. The sceptre of Jason passed rapidly and successively into the hands of his three brothers, Polydorus, Polyphron, and Alexander. The last was first driven out of Larissa by the Aleuada; assisted by the Macedonians; was afterwards worsted in war by Pelopidas; and finally, at the instigation of his wife

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Thebe, was murdered, 356, by her brothers, Lycophron and Tisiphonus. The two murderers then assumed the supreme power, but were, in compliance with the request of the Aleuadæ, deposed by Philip of Macedon.—Some other such tyrants are met with at intervals in the rest of the Thessalian cities, such as *Pharsalus*, etc.

b. Epirus. This country was occupied by several tribes, some Greek, others not. The most powerful of these was that of the Molossi, ruled by kings of the house of the *Æacidæ*, descendants of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. This Greek family was the only one that held the kingly power for a permanency; it must be observed, however, that previous to the Macedonian period, those sovereigns were by no means lords of the whole of Epirus; for the other non-Hellenic races, such as the *Thesprotii*, *Orestii*, etc. had their own separate kings. Moreover the Corinthian colony of Ambracia constituted a distinct state, generally governed as a republic, although sometimes subject to the rule of tyrants. But, in consequence of an alliance framed with the Macedonian kings, the whole of Epirus, and even Ambracia itself, was placed under the sceptre of the Molossian kings; and some of those princes, Pyrrhus II. more especially, rose to be mighty conquerors. See below.

IV. *Grecian islands.*

Both the islands off the coast of Greece, and those of the Archipelago, all underwent the same political revolutions as occurred in the states on the main land. But those events did not take place till after the more ancient non-Hellenic inhabitants, such as the *Phœnicians*, *Carians*, etc. had been driven out, and the land had been taken possession of by the Hellenes. In the more extensive islands, which contained several cities, there generally arose as many small republics as there were towns, and those little states were wont to enter into mutual alliances. The smaller islands, containing but one city, formed each one small independent state, the territory of which comprised the whole island. The respective independence of these islands ceased to exist at the period of the Trojan war; for after the Athenians had by their success placed themselves at the head of confederate Greece, and possessed themselves of the sovereignty of the sea, these smaller states, although called confederates, were treated little better than as subjects.—Among the islands of the Grecian coast the most remarkable in history are the following:

a. Corcyra, a colony of Corinth, important by its naval power and trade, in which it contended with Corinth: the rivalry gave rise to many feuds and wars, and was even one of the principal motives that led to the kindling of the Peloponnesian war. Towards the commencement of that struggle, Corcyra was at the pitch of her power; she could, in those days, unaided, man a fleet of 120 sail of the line. The constitution appears, as at Corinth, to have been aristocratic, or oligarchic: but after the Persian war arose a democratic faction, by which Corcyra was cast into violent commotion, and at last plunged in ruin.

b. Ægina. This small island was, after the Dorian migration, occupied by colonists from Epidaurus; it however soon shook off the yoke of the mother city, and rapidly arose, by commerce and navigation, to be one of the first Grecian states. Ægina was for a long time the rival of Athens; over whom her naval power enabled her to domineer until the time of the Persian war. Humbled, however, by Themistocles, 485, she could no longer support herself against the preponderating power of Athens; and although subsequently she made another stand for independence, 458, the consequences were but an increase of oppression. Neither must it be forgotten, that Ægina suffered much, even before the Persian war, from internal broils, caused by the bitterness of party spirit in the aristocratic and democratic factions.

C. O. MUELLER, *Ægineticorum liber*, 1817. This treatise contains not only the political history, but likewise that of trade and arts.

c. Eubœa. The different cities of this island, Chalcis and Eretria in particular, had each its separate domestic constitution: in the two towns above mentioned the constitution was aristocratic, since the government was in the hands of the opulent, (Hippobatae;) nevertheless we hear of tyrants in Chalcis. After the Persian war Eubœa became dependent upon Athens, which drew from that island a portion of her supplies and provisions. The oppression of the Athenians stirred up the minds of the Eubœans to rebellion, and the islanders were in the sequel ever ready to throw up their allegiance when a suitable opportunity presented itself; such an opportunity was seized in 446, when the island was recovered by Pericles; and the attempt was renewed in the Peloponnesian war.

d. The Cyclades were first colonized by Crete, during the reign of Minos. The Carian race had in earlier times spread over these islands, but were gradually driven out by Hellenic

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invaders, belonging principally to the Ionian and Dorian stocks. The most important was Delos, chief seat of the Ionians. Sheltered under the protection of Apollo, this place became the centre of an extensive trade, and during the Persian war, 479, was selected for the treasury of Greece. Next was Paros, famed for its marble, and for the stand it made against Miltiades, 489, although it afterwards shared the fate of the other islands, and passed under the dominion of the Athenians. We know little of the constitution of the other smaller islands; each of them contained one city of the same name as the island which constituted its territory.

c. Crete. The inhabitants of Crete were not pure Hellenes, but of alloyed origin, such as Curetes, Pelasgi, etc. mingled with whom were Hellenes, of Dorian and Æolian stocks. In the earlier periods, Crete had her kings, the most celebrated of whom were Minos, about 1300, probably first sovereign of the whole island; his brother Rhadamanthus, Idomeneus, Meriones, who followed Idomeneus to the Trojan war, and succeeded him upon the throne: the last king Etearchus, about 800, after whose reign a republican form of government was introduced. Under these kings Crete was powerful on sea: to Minos is ascribed the honour of having by his fleets purged the Ægean of pirates, occupied the islands, and ensured security to the mariner. To him likewise is attributed the Cretan legislation, the model, it is said, of that given to Sparta by Lycurgus. But the uncertainty as to what does and what does not belong to Minos, is in this case even greater than in that of Lycurgus; many of the laws referred to Minos are probably nothing more than ancient Dorian institutions. The insular situation which in some measure ensured Crete from foreign inroads, and the proximity of Egypt and Phœnicia must indubitably have contributed to expand the germ of political civilization. The abolition of the kingly office seems to have been the effect of internal commotions, to which Crete continued to be frequently exposed, even under the republican form of government. Those commotions originated in the jealousy between the two largest cities, Gortina and Cnossus, which, when united, ruled the rest; but when at war, shook the whole island, until the city of Cydonia, passing over to one of the sides, gave a turn to the balance. The laws instituted by Minos respecting private life were enforced in all the cities of the island; but declined at an earlier period than in the country. Each city had its own constitution; each possessed its senate, (*γερυσία*), at

the head of which stood ten censors, (*κοσμοι*), chosen from certain families: these *cosmi* were not only prime magistrates, but likewise invested with the command in war, not frequently waged by the Cretans against other nations, but, for that reason, more frequently with one another; a circumstance which must have necessarily contributed to corrupt, not only their constitution, but likewise their national character.

MEURSI *Creta, Rhodus, Cyprus*, 1675, 4to. Very laborious compilations. New light, however, has been thrown upon the subject by the inscriptions published in

CHISHULL's *Antiq. Asiaticæ*; 1728, folio. A work which has been made use of by

ST. CROIX, *Des anciens gouvernemens*, etc. (See above, p. 131.) The grand work upon Crete.

† C. HÖRCK, *Crete*. An attempt to explain the mythology, history, etc. of this island, 1823.

f. Cyprus. This island, like Crete, was inhabited by a race of mixed origin, who, even in Herodotus's age, traced their descent from Phœnicians, Africans, (Ethiopians,) from Greeks out of Arcadia, Attica, and the island of Salamis; of which last the city of Salamis, founded by Teucer about 1160, was a colony. There can be no doubt, that in the earlier times the Phœnicians were for a long period the dominant race in the island; since in the flourishing days of Tyre, the Cyprians rebelled against those their oppressors, at the same time that Psalmanaser led an expedition against them, about 720: moreover, even in the present day, Phœnician monuments are found in the island. From that time to the Persian period, there appears to have been a close connexion between the island and the Phœnicians, although the Cyprians preserved their independence. Several small kingdoms now arose in the various cities of the island; the number of which in subsequent times amounted to 9, and under Amasis, about 550, were tributary to the Egyptians; and under Cambyses, 525, to the Persians: notwithstanding this species of subjection, the various states preserved their kings. During the Persian dominion, the Cyprians more than once joined in the insurrections against the Persians; more particularly the kings of Salamis, now become the most potent. So early as the year 500, Onesilus joined the Ionian rebels, but was defeated. In the subsequent wars between the Persians and Greeks, Cyprus was frequently attacked by the combined Grecian fleets; as in 470 by Pausanias, and during the reign of Evagoras I. 449, by Cimon

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who died at the siege of Citium; yet the Persians were not driven out, but appear to have kept their footing even after the peace of 449. Among the subsequent kings of Salamis was Evagoras II. (400—390,) who was master of the greatest portion of the island; but as in the peace of Antalcidas Cyprus was ceded to the Persians, he was obliged to wage a hot war against them, in which he lost every thing but Salamis. Finally, the Cyprians, in 356, took a part in the insurrection of the Phœnicians and Egyptians: thereupon the Persians sent an army against them, under the command of a younger Evagoras, (who had been banished by his uncle Protagoras,) and under that of the Athenian Phocion Salamis was besieged, but matters were made up by a negotiation. The 9 small kingdoms of the island continued to exist till the time of Alexander, whom they voluntarily joined during the siege of Tyre, 332, and thenceforward Cyprus constituted a part of the Macedonian monarchy.

2. History of the Grecian Colonies⁴.

RAOUL ROCHETTE, *Histoire critique de l'établissement des Colonies Grecques*, Paris, 1815, 4 vols. The most copious of the treatises on this subject: it comprises the earlier Pelasgian and the later Macedonian colonies, as well as those of the Hellenes. The erudition displayed in this work is great, but the criticism of the sources is not satisfactory.

† D. H. HEGEWISCH, *Geographic and Historic Documents relative to the Colonies of the Greeks*, Altona, 1808, 8vo. A brief review of the subject.

ST. CROIX, *De l'état et du sort des Colonies des anciens peuples*, Paris, 1786. A series of valuable and important inquiries.

Historic
importance
of the Greek
colonies.

1. No nation of antiquity ever sent out so many colonies as the Greeks: those colonies became so important in various respects, that an ac-

⁴ For the better obtaining of a general view of the events connected with the Greek colonies, the history of them will be here continued through the subsequent period.

quaintance with them is indispensably requisite towards understanding the more early history of the world. Not only is the history of the civility of the mother country and that of early trade intimately connected with those settlements, but some of them grew to such power as to have even the greatest influence on political history.

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2. The colonies of the Greeks, to which the following observations apply, are those founded by the Hellenes in the time which elapsed between the Dorian migration and the Macedonian period. There can be no doubt that before the date of that migration some Pelasgian, and perhaps even some Hellenic, settlers passed over into Italy: not only, however, are the details of those colonies involved in obscurity, but it is also known that they ceased in subsequent times to be Greek. The later settlements of the Macedonians were of a quite different nature from those of the Hellenes, to which we now allude.

3. The Hellenic stock spread alike to the east and to the west of Greece, although the settlements of the Greeks on the shores of the Mediterranean and Black seas were confined in their extent. The countries in which their chief colonies were established were Asia Minor and Thrace in the east; the coasts of lower Italy and Sicily in the west. Settlements were, however, scattered here and there on the shores of most other countries.

Hellenic
colonies.

4. The Grecian colonies owed their origin either to political motives, generally to the behests and persuasions of the oracles, or to commercial speculations; the former was the case

Origin of
these colonies.

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almost without exception, with the settlements made by the mother country herself; the latter, with those which had branched out of such colonies as had already exalted themselves by their commerce; in fact, almost all the Grecian colonies applied more or less to trade, although that was not the sole object of their foundation.

Relations
between
colony and
metropolis.

5. The connexion existing between the colonies and the mother cities was generally determined by the same causes that had led to their original foundation. In those cases where a city had been founded by malecontent or banished emigrants, all dependence on the mother country was naturally out of the question; but even in the colonies established for the purposes of trade, that dependence was but feeble and brief; the mother cities failing in power, if not in will, to maintain it. This very independency of so many settlements, made with hardly one exception in the most favoured lands of the earth, under the most beautiful climate, and by their situation itself attracted to the cultivation of sea affairs and commerce, must have mainly assisted the civility of the Hellenic nation in making its rapid strides, and have given it an expansion wider than fell to the lot of any other nation in the world, as then known. What a crowd of political ideas must have been promulgated among a people whose settlements, more than a hundred in number, had each its own peculiar form of government.

Importance
of the Asi-
atic Greek
settlements.

6. Of these colonies, the most ancient, and in many respects the most important, were those along the western coast of Asia Minor, stretching from the Hellespont to the boundary of Cilicia.

There, in lands with which since the Trojan war they had been brought acquainted, settled Hellenes of the three main stocks, Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians. These were the most important for trade; and here likewise in the native country of Homer, (father of the Grecian civility,) of Alcæus, of Sappho, poesy, both epic and lyric, expanded her first and fairest blossoms; and hence likewise flowed into the mother country the elements of a moral and national character.

1. The Æolian colonies. Their original foundation dates about 1124: they appear to have been a consequence of the Dorian migration, having been established during that great commotion in Greece. The Pelopidæ driven out of Peloponnesus; Orestes, his son Penthilus, his grandson Archelaus, and his great grandson Grais, successively headed the emigrants, who proceeded slowly by land, divided, it appears, into several companies, with which some Boeotians and others gradually coalesced. In Asia they occupied the coasts of Mysia and Caria; a strip of land which from thence derived the appellation of Æolis. They moreover possessed the islands of Lesbos, Tenedos, and the Hecatonnesi. On the main, in the quarter named from them Æolus, they erected twelve cities, the most eminent of which were Cyme and Smyrna; the latter, however, subsequently fell into the hands of the Ionians. Their chief settlements were, however, on the island of Lesbos; here they inhabited 5 cities, at the head of which, and likewise of all their other colonies, stood Mitylene. They had likewise spread inland as far as mount Ida. All these towns were independent of one another, and possessed their own peculiar forms of government: our information, however, respecting those constitutions extends no farther than to enable us to ascertain that they were subject to many disorders, which it was often attempted to quell, by nominating rulers of power uncontrolled, under the title of *Æsymnetæ*. These were elected sometimes for a stipulated period, at others for life; the most celebrated of the number was Pittacus at Mitylene, who flourished about 600, and was the contemporary of Sappho and Alcæus. The Æolians maintained their independence till the time of Cyrus; an exception must, however, be made in the case of

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Smyrna, which, so early as 600, was captured and destroyed by the Lydians, and not rebuilt till after the lapse of four centuries, when it was restored by Antigones, and entered upon its flourishing period. The cities of the main were constrained to acknowledge the supremacy of the Persian conqueror; not so the islands. The Æolian cities were not enleagued by any permanent bond; it was only in peculiar cases that they debated in common their mutual interests. Mitylene, which they all regarded as their capital, is the only one of their colonies that became rich by trade, and formidable by its naval power. Yet in 470 it was tributary to Athens; having seceded in 428, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, it was recaptured and almost levelled to the earth by the Athenians.

2. The Ionian colonies. These were, no doubt, founded at a later period than those of the Æolians; like them, however, they were a consequence of the Dorian migration. The Ionians, driven out of Peloponnesus by the Achæans, had withdrawn to Athens, from whence, 60 years afterwards, that is to say about 1044, they proceeded on shipboard to Asia, headed by Neleus and others of the sons of Codrus. Combined with them, however, were some Thebans, Phocians, Eubœan Abantes, and various other Greeks. In Asia they settled on the southern coast of Lydia and the northern shore of Caria; which, together with the islands of Samos and Chios, took from them the name of Ionia. Here they built twelve cities on the main land; namely, from north to south, Phocæa, Erythræ, Clazomene, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, Miletus, and in the islands, Samos and Chios. They possessed in common one sanctuary, the Panionium temple of Neptune, built on the headland of Mycale: there they celebrated their festivals, and assembled to canvass matters of mutual interest, although it must still be remembered that each city was in itself independent. This independence was maintained until the times of the Lydian dynasty of the Mermnadæ, and to that of Cyrus, under whose reign they were compelled to submit to the Persian yoke. Still under the Persian rule they for the most part preserved their own form of government, and were subject only so much as they had to pay tribute. Nevertheless they seized every opportunity to deliver themselves from this species of thralldom; and hence their history in the following period is closely enwoven with that of Greece. The political constitution was, no doubt, at an early period republican in all; but these colonies likewise were op-

pressed by constant factions, and frequently by individual tyrants. Among the towns situate on the continent, the most remarkable are Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocæa. Miletus was the greatest seat of trade. It had been founded by the Carians ere the arrival of the Ionians; but was by the latter raised to opulence and power. The most flourishing period of its existence was between 700—500: in the latter year it was implicated in the insurrection of Aristagoras against the Persians, in consequence of which it was destroyed in 496. From that time Miletus never more recovered its ancient splendour. Nevertheless, in the days of her prosperity Miletus was, next to Tyre and Carthage, the first emporium of the world. Her sea trade was principally carried on in the Black sea, and the Palus Mæotis, whose shores, on all sides, were occupied by her colonies, amounting, according to some authorities, to more than 100. By means of these settlements she monopolized the whole of the northern trade in pulse, dry fish, slaves, and furs. Her land trade was carried on upon the highway laid down by the Persians, far into the interior of Asia. Four harbours admitted her vessels; and her naval power was so great, that she has been known, more than once, to fit out, unaided, fleets of from 80 to 100 sail. Phocæa. The flourishing period of this establishment was contemporary with that of Miletus; but ended at the rise of the Persian dominion, 540, when the Phocæans, in order to escape from the Persian supremacy, preferred to forsake the city of their fathers and migrate to Corsica, although one half of the inhabitants repented their resolution and returned. Phocæa had the most extensive trade by sea of all Grecian cities; they were to the west what the Milesians were to the north. Their mariners cruised as far as Gades; and not only had they visited the coasts of Italy, Gaul, and Corsica, but had even founded colonies in those quarters, such as Aleria in Corsica, Elea in Italy, more especially Massilea, (Marseilles,) on the shore of Gaul.—Ephesus. This city was likewise originally founded by the Carians, but subsequently occupied by the Ionians. Its independence was maintained until the time of Croesus, who added it to his conquests about 560. The constitution was aristocratic; the government was in the hands of a senate, (*γερούσια*,) combined with whom were the magistrates, (*ἐπικλήτοι*): and the family which had formerly possessed the throne preserved certain prerogatives. Ephesus was not so important a seat of trade as Phocæa and Miletus; for its principal celebrity it was indebted to the

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temple of Diana, which in 355 was fired by Erostratus, and afterwards rebuilt with more sumptuous splendour. The flourishing period of Ephesus appears to have commenced at this time, long after that of Miletus and Phocæa had terminated; for both in the Macedonian and Roman ages Ephesus was regarded as the first city of Asia Minor.—Of the cities situate on the islands, Samos was the most important, by its trade, and by its naval power. The period of its splendour was under the reign of the tyrant Polycrates, 540—523, whose sway extended over the sea and islets of the neighbourhood. Syloson, brother to the tyrant, having by the assistance of the Persians, 517, obtained possession of Samos, the island was almost wholly depopulated. Soon afterward Samos became dependent of Athens, who in 440 introduced a democratic form of government, and appointed it to the place where her troops and fleets should muster during the war with Sparta.—Chios was not second to Samos, either in power or wealth. It fell under the Persian dominion together with the rest of the Ionian colonies; but was so powerful, that in 500, at the time of the insurrection of Aristagoras, ninety-eight sail of the combined fleet belonged to Chios. After the route of Xerxes, 469, it entered into the Athenian league, from which it endeavoured to secede in the Peloponnesian war, 412. The naval power of the Chians was still considerable; and those islanders had the high honour of not suffering prosperity to inflate them with overweening ambition.

F. G. RAMBACH, *De Mileto ejusque coloniis*, 1790. 4to.

3. The Dorian colonies. These were situate in the continent of Asia Minor, along the southern shore of Caria; they were likewise established in the islands of Cos and of Rhodes; but were all founded at a later period than the Ionian colonies, and, no doubt, were the result of successive migrations. The Dorians appear to have gradually spread beyond Peloponnesus, athwart the islands of the Archipelago to the Asiatic coast: in Rhodes they erected the cities of Ialyssus, Camirus, and Lindus; in Cos a city of the same name; on the main land 2 cities, Halicarnassus and Cnidus. These 6 ancient colonies had, like the Ionians, one common sanctuary, the temple of Apollo Triopius, where they celebrated their festivals and held their diets; Halicarnassus was, however, subsequently excluded from the communion. They remained independent until the Persian period, although the constitutions of the separate cities were subject to violent revolutions; thus at Cnidus the oligarchy was converted into a

democracy; Halicarnassus was likewise generally subject to the Carian sovereigns, among whom Mausolus and Artemisia are names familiar to all.—The 3 cities in Rhodes appear never to have grown to any importance; that of Rhodes, not built till after the irruption of Xerxes into Greece, 480, soon cast a shade over the others: its brilliant period commences in the times subsequent to Alexander. In the range of early time, neither the Dorian settlements, nor those of the Æolians, could compete in wealth and extent of trade with the Ionians.

7. The shores of the Propontis, of the Black sea, and of the Palus Mæotis, were likewise covered with Grecian settlements. Nearly all of these were colonies of one city, Miletus, and were, without exception, all of them the marts of a prosperous trade. Although the date of each cannot be precisely defined, they must have arisen between the eighth and sixth centuries before the Christian era. They were not only sovereigns of the Black sea, but likewise extended their trade over the whole of southern Russia, and eastward to the regions beyond the Caspian sea; that is to say, to great Bukharia.

On the Propontis stood Lampsacus (adjoining the Hellespont) and Cyzicus, on an island connected with the continent by means of bridges. The latter town certainly was one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities of Asia; but this did not occur until the Roman age, and was the consequence of the fostering protection of the Romans.—Opposite to Cyzicus, on the Thracian coast, was Perinthus, subsequently called Heraclea; at the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus stood Byzantium, over against which was Chalcedon. The prosperity of all these towns affords sufficient proof of the skill with which sites were chosen for the establishment of colonies.

HEYNE, *Antiquitas Byzantina: Commentationes duæ*, 1809. The first of which contains the fragments of the earlier history of Byzantium.

The colonies of the Black sea were: on the southern coast of Bithynia, Heraclea, in the territory of the Maryandini. This

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place preserved its republican constitution amid frequent broils and revolutions, brought about by the oligarchic and democratic factions, until about B. C. 370, when the democrats having gained the upper hand, a path was opened to Clearchus, who became tyrant, and abrogated the senate, (βουλὴ;) the family of the tyrant continued for a long time to keep possession of the power, after he had himself been murdered by two disciples of Plato.—In Paphlagonia was Sinope, the most powerful of all the Grecian settlements on the Black sea, of which it long held the sovereignty. The freedom and independence of this place lasted to about 100, when it fell under the dominion of the kings of Pontus, and afterward under that of the Romans. The principal source from which it derived its wealth was the shoals of migratory fish, which, issuing from the Palus Mæotis, spread along the shore of the Black sea down to the Thracian Bosphorus.—In Pontus was Amisus, the mother city of Trapezus, and which shared the fate of Sinope.—On the eastern coast stood the cities of Phasis, Dioscurias, and Phanagoria: this last was the principal mart of the slave trade, and during the Macedonian period was the staple for Indian commodities imported across the Oxus and the Caspian sea.—In the Chersonesus Taurica stood Panticapæum, capital city of the little Grecian kingdom of Bosphorus, whose kings (among whom Spartacus, about 439, and more especially Leucon, about 350, are celebrated) remained in alliance with Athens until Mithridates the great laid there the foundation of his dominion.—On the northern coast was the city of Tanais, on the mouth of the river of the same name at the bottom of the Palus Mæotis. Olbia was situated at the mouth of the Borysthenes. These two places, and Olbia in particular, were of the highest importance for the inland trade, which from thence stretching in a northern and easterly direction, was extended to the very centre of Asia.—The colonies of the western coast, such as Apollonia, Tomi, and Salmidessus, were of less notoriety.

8. The coast of Thrace and Macedonia, washed by the Ægæan sea, was likewise covered with Grecian colonies, sent out from various cities, and especially from Corinth and Athens. The Athenians having obtained in the Persian war the sovereignty of the sea, endeavoured to establish firmly their dominion in this part of the world;

hence the cities in that quarter were closely implicated in the quarrels and wars excited, first by the jealousy between Sparta and Athens, and subsequently by that which sprang up between Athens and Macedonia, in the reign of Philip.

On the Thracian coast of the Chersonesus, Thracia, regarded as the key of Europe, and ranging along the Hellespont, were the towns of Sestos, Cardia, and Ægosspotamos; farther to the west stood Maronea and Abdera, the latter a colony of Teos. Of far greater importance, however, were the towns on the Macedonian coast, Amphipolis, Chalcis, Olynthus, Potidæa. The first of these towns, founded about B. C. 464, was a colony from Athens, who endeavoured to keep it in a state of dependence. Chalcis was a colony from the city of the same name in Eubœa. In 470 it was dependent of Athens; but in 432, the inhabitants having raised the standard of rebellion, forsook their houses and voluntarily withdrew to Olynthus.—Olynthus derived its name from the founder, one of the sons of Hercules: in the course of time it took rank among the most powerful cities of Thrace, although it was tributary to the Athenians. It took a share in the war between Athens and Sparta, and continued to be a flourishing city until 348, when it was taken by Philip of Macedonia, and destroyed.—Potidæa was a colony of Corinth, from which it received annual magistrates, (*ἐπιδημιούργοι*), having become tributary to Athens after the Persian war, it rebelled in 431: compelled to yield to the Athenian arms, its inhabitants were expelled, and their place supplied by an Athenian colony. It now became a possession of Athens, and remained so till it was taken by Philip in 358.

9. The Grecian settlements westward of the mother country were, almost without exception, made at a later period than those in the Ægæan and Black seas: they reached nevertheless to an equal degree of splendour; and though their trade was not so extensive, it was equally profitable: these colonies not only rivalled those we have above described in wealth, but surpassed them in power, being generally characterised by

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the wisdom and prudence displayed in their respective constitutions. The foundation of most of them may be dated between B. C. 750 and 650; consequently in that period when all the cities in the mother country had already been republicanised: and at a time when there could be no lack of domestic troubles, which would furnish motives for emigration.

1. Grecian settlements in lower Italy. The most numerous and important of these were scattered around the bay of Tarentum; they extended likewise along the western coast of Italy up to Naples. These colonies were variously traced to the Dorian, Achæan, and Ionian stocks: they were likewise distinguished by political characteristics, the government in the Dorian settlements being generally more aristocratic, in the rest more democratic: it must be observed, however, that, with respect to the various revolutions which the respective constitutions underwent, it is hardly possible to give any general information, excepting so far as regards the earliest times. Of Dorian origin were Tarentum, and its colonies Heraclea and Brundisium. Of Achæan origin were Sybaris and Croton, together with the colonies of the latter, Laus, Metapontum, Posidonia; which last founded in its turn Terina, Caulonia, and Pandosia. Of Ionian origin were Thurii, (built on the site where Sybaris had formerly stood,) Rhegium, Elea, Cumæ, and its branch settlement of Neapolis. Locri Epizephyrii, a colony of the Locri Ozolæ, may be regarded as an Æolian city. The most remarkable of these cities in respect of general history are:

a. Tarentum, founded by the Parthenii, from Sparta, about 707. It waged several wars with the aboriginal tribes in the vicinity, the Messapians, Lucanians, etc. and grew to be one of the richest and mightiest among maritime towns. The most brilliant period of Tarentum appears to have fallen between 500 and 400. Excess of wealth subsequently introduced luxury, which extinguished the national spirit. Nevertheless Tarentum preserved its independence until 273, when, after the war with Pyrrhus, it fell under the Roman dominion. The constitution was originally a moderate aristocracy; but was commuted soon after the Persian war into a democracy, which was, however, curbed by prudent checks. Tarentum had its senate, (*βουλή*)

without whose consent war could not be undertaken; its magistrates elected half by lot, half by majority of votes given in the assemblies of the commons. Among its most celebrated citizens is reckoned the Pythagorean Archytas, who, after the year B. C. 390, was frequently at the head of the state, filling the offices of field marshal and supreme magistrate. The constitution appears to have preserved its form until the Roman period, although the national spirit was greatly corrupted by a luxury almost exceeding the limits of credibility.

b. Croton, founded 710 by the Achæans, under the guidance of Myscellus from Rhye in Achaia. This city must have attained to very great power during the very first century of its existence; since in the battle of Sagra against the Locrians, which may with probability be dated about 600, the Crotoniats were able to set on foot an army of 120,000 men. Neither does the defeat which they there suffered appear to have debilitated the settlement for any length of time; for in 510 they fell, with forces nearly equal, on the Sybarites, and destroyed their city. The original constitution was, no doubt, a moderate democracy; but we are unacquainted with the details of its organization. Pythagoras was the reformer of customs, moral and political, not only at Croton, but in several other of the Italico-Greek cities. This philosopher arrived at Croton about 540, and there laid the foundation of the league or secret association named after him; the object of which was, not to change the form of government in the Italian cities, but to create men that might be fit to grasp the helm of the state. This reform and influence of the Pythagoreans lasted about thirty years, when their order underwent the same fate as generally befalls a secret association founded with a political view. Probably about 510 the Pythagorean league was broken asunder by the democratic faction under Cynon. The consequence was universal anarchy, not only in Croton, where, about 494, a certain Clinias assumed the tyranny, but likewise in the rest of the cities: an end, however, was placed to this anarchy through the mediation of the Achæans; and the Achæan colonies not only adopted the laws of their mother cities, but likewise soon afterward signed a league in the temple of Jupiter Homorius, about 460: it appears that Croton, having already recovered from the blow it had received, was at the head of this league. In this happy posture affairs remained till about 400. After the kings of Syracuse had commenced their attacks on Magna Græcia, Croton was repeatedly captured;

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as in B. C. 389 by Dionysius I. and about 321; and again, in 299, by Agathocles. Finally, after the war with Pyrrhus, 277, it became dependent on Rome.

c. Sybaris was founded about 720, like the foregoing, by the Achæans, who were mingled with Træzenians: this settlement existed till 510, when it was destroyed by Croton. Soon after its foundation it became one of the most extensive, populous, and luxurious cities, so much so, that the effeminacy of the Sybarites became proverbial. Sybaris appears to have been at the pitch of her prosperity from about 600—550; she then possessed a respectable territory, comprising four of the neighbouring tribes, and twenty-five cities or places. The immense fertility of the soil, and the admission of all strangers to the rights of citizenship, tended to increase the population so much, that Sybaris, in the war against Croton, is said to have brought into the field 300,000 men. The vast wealth possessed, not only by Sybaris, but by the other cities in this quarter, probably was derived from the great trade in oil and wine carried on with Africa and with Gaul: that such was the case at Agrigentum we know with certainty. The constitution of Sybaris was likewise, it appears, a moderate democracy: towards the year 510 one Telys took possession of the supreme power, and drove out 500 of the optimates, who fled to Croton. The Crotoniats received the exiles, and the Sybarites having put to death their ambassadors, a war was kindled between the two cities, and ended in 510 by the defeat of the Sybarites and the destruction of their city.

d. Thurii, founded near the site of ancient Sybaris in 446 by Athens, although the inhabitants were of mixed origin; a circumstance which gave rise at first to many domestic broils, the citizens disputing as to who was the real founder; at last, 433, the Delphian oracle declared the city to be a colony of Apollo. The constitution was at first a moderate democracy; but this was soon converted to an oligarchy, all the power and the best lands having been taken possession of by the Sybarite families who had joined the settlement. The Sybarites were, however, again expelled, and Thurii grew into importance by the confluence of several new colonies out of Greece; its constitution was meliorated by the adoption of the laws of Charondas of Catana. The principal enemies of the Thurians were the Lucanians, by whom they were beaten, 390. The desultory attacks of that tribe compelled them, 286, to crave the assistance of the Romans, which soon after afforded the Tarentines a pretext to attack

them. Thurii now formed a part of the Roman dependencies, and after suffering much in the Carthaginian wars, was at last, SECOND PERIOD.
B. C. 190, occupied by a Roman colony.

e. Locri Epizephyrii. The question of their origin is a subject of dispute: the causes of this uncertainty are, that here, as in most other of the cities, various bands of colonists arrived at various times, and those bands themselves were composed of a mixture of several Grecian stocks. The chief colony was sent out, B. C. 683, by the Locri Ozolæ. After suffering much from violent internal commotions, Locri found, about 660, a lawgiver in Zaleucus, whose institutions remained more than two centuries inviolate. The constitution was aristocratic, the administration being in the hands of 100 families. The supreme magistrate was called cosmopolis. The senate consisted of 1,000 members, probably elected from the commons, with whom resided, either wholly or partially, the legislative power. The maintenance of the laws was, as in others of the Grecian cities, committed to the nomophylaces. Locri was certainly neither so wealthy nor so luxurious as the cities above mentioned; but she was honourably distinguished by the good manners and the quiet conduct of her citizens, who were content with their government. The flourishing period of this city lasted till the time of Dionysius II. who having been driven out of Syracuse, fled with his dependents to Locri, the native country of his mother: by his insolence and licentiousness of manners the city was brought to the verge of ruin; after his return to Syracuse, 347, the Locrians avenged their wrongs upon his family. Locri afterward maintained its recovered independence until the time of Pyrrhus, who, 277, placed a garrison in the town; the Locrians, however, put the troops to the sword, and passed over to the Roman side: the city was in consequence sacked by Pyrrhus in 275. From that time Locri remained a confederate town dependent on Rome, and suffered much in the second Punic war.

f. Rhegium, founded by the Eubæan Chalcis, 668: here also the government was aristocratic, the supreme power being in the hands of a council of 1,000 men, selected only from Messenian families, which had joined the original settlers. Hence arose an oligarchy, of which Anaxilaus took advantage to assume the sole dominion, 494, in which he was succeeded by his sons. These having been driven out, 464, commotions ensued, which, after a time, were quelled by the adoption of the laws of Charondas. Rhegium now enjoyed a period of happiness, which lasted till

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B. C. 302, when it was captured and destroyed by Dionysius I. Dionysius II. restored it in some measure; but in 281 the city was taken possession of by a Roman legion, who being sent for the purpose of garrisoning the place, murdered the inhabitants. The soldiers were punished with death, 271; but Rhegium thenceforth remained in the dependency of Rome.

g. Cumæ, founded so early as 1030, by Chalcis in Eubœa. This city reached at an early period to a high degree of power and prosperity; its territory being of respectable dimensions, its naval forces considerable, and Neapolis and Zancle (or Messina) among its colonies. The government was a moderate aristocracy: this constitution was subverted about 544, by the tyrant Aristodemus; but restored after his assassination. Cumæ was frequently the object of the attacks of the Italian tribes; in 564 she was invaded and defeated by the Etruscans and Daunians combined; in 474 she beat the Etruscans at sea: but in 420 was captured by the Campanians; together with whom she became dependent of Rome in 345. Cumæ, nevertheless, in consequence of its port of Puteoli, preserved a share of importance, even under the Roman dominion.

HEYNE, *Prolusiones 16 de civitatibus Græcarum per magnam Græciam et Siciliam institutis et legibus*. Collected in his *Opuscula*, vol. vii.

2. Grecian settlements in Sicily. These occupied the eastern and southern shores of the island: they were founded in the same period as those of Magna Græcia, and belonged partly to the Dorian, partly to the Ionian stocks. Of Dorian origin were Messina and Tyndaris, from Messene; Syracuse, who in her turn founded Acræ, Casmenæ, and Camarina, from Corinth; Hybla and Thapsus from Megara; Segesta from Thessaly; Heraclea Minoa from Crete; Gela, which founded Agrigentum, from Rhodes; and Lipara, on the small island of that name, from Cnidus. Of Ionian origin were Naxos, the founder of Leontini; Catana and Tauromenium, from Chalcis; Zancle, (after its occupation by Messenian colonists, called Messina.) founded by Cumæ, and in its turn founder of Himera and Myla. The most remarkable in ancient history of these towns are:

a. Syracuse, the most powerful of all the Greek colonies, and consequently that concerning which our information is the most copious. The history of Syracuse, on which, as that town was for a long time mistress of the greatest part of the island, depends nearly the whole history of Sicily, comprises four periods.

From the foundation, B. C. 735, to Gelo, 484; a space of 251 yrs. During this period Syracuse was a republic; but she does not appear to have risen to any very great height of power: yet she founded the colonies of Acræ, 665, Casmenæ, 645, and Camarina, 640. From the attacks of Hippocrates, sovereign of Gela, she was rescued but by the assistance of the mother city Corinth, and by that of Corcyra; and even then was obliged to brook the invasion of Camarina, 497. The constitution was aristocratic; but free from domestic troubles. The administration was in the hands of the opulent, (*γαμύροι*;) these were, however, about 485, expelled by the democratic faction and their own mutinous slaves. They fled to Casmenæ, and by the help of Gelo, sovereign of Gela, were restored to their homes; but Gelo now took the power into his own hands. 2. From Gelo to the expulsion of Thrasybulus, 484—466. The three brothers, Gelo, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, successively ruled over Syracuse. Gelo, 484—477. He was the founder of the greatness of Syracuse, and, at the same time, of his own power; this he effected partly by increasing the population, bringing in new inhabitants from other Greek cities, partly by the great victory he won over the Carthaginians engaged with the Persians, 480. At that early period Syracuse was so powerful, both by sea and by land, as to authorise Gelo to claim the office of generalissimo of Greece, when Sparta and Athens came to solicit his aid. His beneficent reign not only gained him the love of the Syracusans during his life, but likewise procured him the honours of a hero after death at the hands of a grateful people. He died in 477, and was succeeded by his brother Hiero I. who had till then ruled over Gela. The reign of this prince was one of splendour; his court was brilliant, and fostering protection was extended to arts and sciences. Hiero's power was corroborated by the establishment of new citizens, both in Syracuse and its subordinate towns of Catana and Naxos, whose original inhabitants are translated to Leontini.—Wars waged against Thero, 476, and his son Thrasidæus, tyrants of Agriguntum: after the expulsion of Thrasidæus, that town frames an alliance with Syracuse; the Syracusan fleet sent to the assistance of Cumæ, wins a victory over the Etruscans. Hiero having died in 467, was succeeded by his brother Thrasybulus, who, after a short reign of eight months, was in consequence of his cruelty expelled by the Syracusans and the confederate cities. 3. From the expulsion of Thrasybulus to the elevation of Dionysius I.; Syracuse a free democratic state: from 466—405. Re-

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storation of the republican constitution in Syracuse and the rest of the Grecian cities; this restoration is, however, accompanied by many commotions and even civil wars, proceeding from the expulsion of the new citizens and the reestablishment of the ancient inhabitants to their property.—Increasing power and prosperity of Syracuse; she is now at the head of the confederate Grecian cities in the island, and soon endeavours to convert her precedence into supremacy. The new democratic constitution quickly suffers from the diseases incident to that form of government; a vain attempt is made to apply a remedy by the introduction of the petalismus, B. C. 454; in the mean time the Siculi, aboriginal inhabitants of Sicily, unite in closer league under their leader Ducetius; attempting to expel the Greeks, 451, they engage the Syracusans in reiterated wars; the arms of Syracuse are successful, her authority is confirmed by the subjection of the ambitious Agrigentum, 446, and by her naval victory over the Etruscans. First but unsuccessful attempt of the Athenians to interpose in the domestic affairs of Sicily, by siding with Leontini against Syracuse, 427; eleven years afterward occurs the great expedition against Syracuse, 415—413, caused by the disputes between Segesta and Selinus; the expedition ends in the total rout of the Athenian fleet and army, (see below;) and the power of Syracuse rises to its height. A constitutional reform ensues, 412, brought about by Diocles, whose laws were subsequently adopted by several others of the Sicilian cities. The magistrates were chosen by lot. The rest of the laws, which appear to have had reference to the criminal code, were the production of a committee over which Diocles presided; these enactments were so beneficial to Syracuse, that the author of them was honoured with a temple after his death. So early as 410, nevertheless, a renewal of the differences between Segesta and Selinus afforded a pretext for war with Carthage, from whom the Segestani had besought assistance; by this war the whole state of affairs in Sicily was subverted. The rapid strides made by the Carthaginians, who, commanded by Hannibal son of Gisco, took, 409, Selinus and Himera, and even Agrigentum, 406, engendered domestic factions and commotions within Syracuse; and amid these disorders the crafty Dionysius succeeded first in obtaining the office of field marshal, and then, after supplanting his colleagues, the sovereign power of Syracuse, 405. 4. From Dionysius I. to the Roman occupation, 405—212. Dionysius I. 405—368. Ill-boding commencement of his reign, by a defeat at Gela and the

mutiny of his troops.—A plague wasting the Carthaginian army, he is enabled to patch up a peace, B. C. 405, by which it is agreed, that Carthage, besides the territory in the island, shall retain all the conquests made during the war, together with Gela and Camarina. But the project of expelling the Carthaginians out of Sicily, in order to subject the whole island, and to fall upon Magna Grecia, kindles a long series of wars both with Carthage and the cities of Magna Grecia. Second war with Carthage against Hannibal and Himilco, 398—392. Dionysius loses all that he before had conquered, and is himself besieged in Syracuse; but a plague once more attacking the Carthaginians, rescues him from his predicament, 396; deeds of hostility continued notwithstanding till 392, when a peace was signed, by which Carthage ceded the town of Tauromenium.—From 394 desultory attacks on the confederate Grecian cities in lower Italy, particularly on Rhegium, chief seat of the Syracusan emigrants, which, after repeated invasions, is at last compelled to yield, 387. Third war with Carthage, 383, against Mago; Dionysius wins a victory, which is however followed by a greater defeat; and the war ends the same year by the adoption of a peace, according to which each party is to retain what he then had; the Halycus is fixed as the boundary line; so that Selinus and a portion of the territory of Agrigentum remain in the hands of the Carthaginians. Fourth war: an irruption on the Carthaginian cities; it ends, however, in the signing of a treaty. The decision of these wars generally depended on the side taken by the Siculi, the most powerful aboriginal race in Sicily. Dionysius I. having died by poison, 368, was succeeded by Dionysius II. his eldest son by one of his two wives, Doris of Locri, and the ward of his step-uncle Dio, the brother of Dionysius's other wife Aristomache. Neither Dio nor his friend Plato were able to meliorate the character of a prince whose soul had been corrupted by bad education.—Dio is banished, 360. He returns, 357, and, in the absence of Dionysius, takes possession of Syracuse, all but the citadel. Dionysius now has recourse to stratagem, he excites in the city distrust of Dio, and foment dissension between him and his general Heraclidas; meanwhile he himself withdraws to Italy, taking with him his treasures. Dio is compelled to retire from the city, which is sacked by the troops garrisoned in the citadel; hereupon the Syracusans themselves fetch back Dio; he possesses himself of the citadel and wishes to restore the republican government, but soon falls a victim to party spirit.

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being murdered by Callipus, B. C. 354: Callipus holds the power till 353, when he is driven out by Hipparinus, a brother of Dionysius, who keeps possession till 350. After 10 years' absence, Dionysius II. by a coup-de-main, becomes once more master of the city, 346. The tyranny of this prince, the treachery of Ictas of Gela, whom the Syracusans called in to their assistance, but who enleagues himself with the Carthaginians, the enterprises of Ictas, compel the citizens to apply to the mother city Corinth: Corinth sends to their assistance Timoleon with a small force, 345. Rapid change of affairs wrought by Timoleon: he beats Ictas and the Carthaginians: in 343 Dionysius is forced to deliver up the citadel and evacuate the country; he retires to Corinth, where he leads a private life. Restoration of the republican government, not only in Syracuse, where the laws of Diocles are reinstituted, but also in the rest of the Grecian cities: the revolution confirmed by a great victory over the Carthaginians, 340. In the midst of the execution of his plans, 337, dies Timoleon; the most splendid example of a republican that history affords! From 337—317; a chasm nearly in the history of Syracuse. Wars with Agrigentum; the usurpation of Sosistratus, disturbs the peace, both external and internal. The character of the Syracusans was already too foully corrupted for one to expect that without the personal superintendence of a Timoleon, liberty might among them find any firm stay. They deserved the fate that befell them, when in 317 that daring adventurer Agathocles assumed the sovereign power, which he maintained till 289. Renewal of the plan for expelling the Carthaginians from the island, and subjecting Magna Græcia. Hence arises a new war with Carthage, in which Agathocles is defeated, 311, and besieged in Syracuse: by a bold stroke he passes over into Africa, accompanied with part of his fleet and army, and there with general success prosecutes the war until 307: the insurrection of most of the Grecian cities in Sicily recalls him from the theatre of war; his views in Africa are consequently balked and defeated. In the peace of 306 both parties retain what they had at the beginning of the war. His wars in Italy are confined to the sacking of Croton, and a victory won over the Bruttii; and are rather the forays of freebooters than regular wars. In the year 289, Agathocles died by poison, and his murderer, Manon, seized the power; he is expelled by the general Ictas, and flies over to the Carthaginians. Ictas rules as prætor till 278, when, in his absence, the power is taken pos-

session of by Thynion, who meets with a rival in the person of Sosistratus; in the mean while the mercenaries of Agathocles (the Mamertini) possess themselves of Messana, and the Carthaginians press forward to the very gates of Syracuse. The Syracusans invite Pyrrhus of Epirus over from Italy; that prince takes possession of the whole of Sicily as far as Lilybæum; but having brought upon himself by his haughtiness the hatred of the cities, he is obliged to evacuate the island, B. C. 275. The Syracusans now appoint Hiero, a descendant of the ancient royal family, the office of field marshal: after defeating the Mamertini he is called to the throne, 269. At the breaking out of the war between Carthage and Rome, the new king forsakes his alliance with Carthage, and passing over to the Roman side, thereby purchases a long and tranquil reign until 215, when he dies of old age. Under this wise prince Syracuse enjoyed a happiness to which she was a stranger under all her demagogues. After his death the Carthaginian party became predominant; Hiero's grandson Hieronymus is murdered, 214, and Hannibal's intrigues enable the Carthaginian party to keep the upper hand, by contriving to place at the head of affairs his friends Hippocrates and Epicydes, who entangle Syracuse in a war with Rome; and the city, after a long siege, celebrated by the inventions of Archimedes, is brought to ruin, 212.—The history of Syracuse is a practical compendium of politics: what other state ever underwent so many and such various revolutions?

The history of Syracuse was at an early period disfigured by partiality. For the topography, see † BARTEL'S *Letters from Calabria and Sicily*, vol. iii. with a plan.

† A. ARNOLD, *History of Syracuse from its foundation to the overthrow of liberty by Dionysius*. Gotha, 1816.

MITFORD, *History of Greece*: the fourth volume contains the history of Syracuse, and the defence of the elder Dionysius. It would seem that even now it is difficult to write this history in a spirit of impartiality.

6. Agrigentum, a colony of Gela, founded 582. The first city of Sicily next to Syracuse, of which it was frequently the rival. Its first constitution was that of the mother city; that is to say, Dorian or aristocratic. It fell, however, soon after its foundation under the dominion of tyrants; the first of whom known is Phalaris, who flourished probably 566—534. He was succeeded by Alcmanes, 534—486, who was followed by Alcander, an indulgent ruler, in whose reign the wealth of Agrigentum seems to

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have already reached a considerable height. More renowned than the foregoing was Theron, the contemporary and stepfather of Gelo; he ruled from B. C. 488—472: in conjunction with Gelo he routed the Carthaginian army, 480, and subjected Himera. His son and successor, Thrasydæus, was beaten by Hiero and expelled, 470; whereupon the Agrigentines, as allies of Syracuse, introduced a democracy. The period following, 470—405, is that in which Agrigentum, blessed with political freedom, reached to the loftiest pitch of public prosperity. She was one of the most opulent and luxurious of cities, and the most magnificent in the display of public monuments. For her wealth she was indebted to the vast trade in oil and wine that she carried on with Africa and Gaul, in neither of which were those productions hitherto naturalized. In the year 446 the Agrigentines, excited by envy, fell upon the Syracusans, but were defeated. In the war with Athens they took no share; but in the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, 405, Agrigentum was taken and destroyed; from this blow she recovered but slowly, and never effectually. By Timoleon she was, in some measure, restored, 340; and under Agathocles, 307, was able to head the cities combined against him, but was beaten. After the death of Agathocles, a tyrant, Phintias, took possession of the sovereign power; and was attacked, 278, by Icetas of Syracuse. At the breaking out of the first Punic war, Agrigentum was used by the Carthaginians as a store of arms; but was taken by the Romans so early as 262.

c. The fate of the other Sicilian cities was more or less dependent on that of Agrigentum and Syracuse: they all had originally republican forms of government; but although the Ionian colonies had a celebrated legislator in the person of Charondas, (probably about 660,) they had the same fortune with the rest of being frequently oppressed by tyrants, either from among their own citizens, or by those of Syracuse, who were wont often to drive out the old inhabitants, and introduce a new population more devoted to their interest: hence must have sprung manifold wars. The foregoing history shows how grievously they likewise suffered in the wars between Syracuse and Carthage. Following the dates of their respective foundations they may be thus arranged: Zancle, (after 664, known by the name of Mesanna,) the earliest, although of date undetermined; Naxos, 736; Syracuse, Hybla, 735; Leontini, Catana, 730; Gela, 690; Acra, B. C. 665; Cosmenæ, 645; Himera, 639; Selinus, 630; Agrigen-

tum, 582. The dates of the rest cannot be ascertained to any degree of accuracy. SECOND PERIOD.

3. On the other islands and coasts of the Mediterranean were found various insulated Grecian settlements; in Sardinia, the cities Caralis and Olbia: the date of their foundation unknown; in Corsica, Alaria, (or Alalia,) a colony of Phocæans founded, 561; hither the inhabitants of the mother city betook themselves in 541; and subsequently, after the naval engagement with the Etruscans and Carthaginians, withdrew, some to Rhegium, others to Massilia, 536.

4. On the coast of Gaul stood Massilia, founded by the Phocæans, who had been driven out of Corsica after the above mentioned naval engagement, 536; or rather, there was in the same site an old settlement which was now increased. Massilia rapidly grew in wealth and power. Our information respecting the wars she waged on the sea against Carthage and the Etruscans is but of a general kind. Her territory on the main land, although rich in wine and oil, was confined in extent; she established, nevertheless, several colonies along the shores of Spain and Gaul, among which Antipolis, Nicæa and Olbia are the best known. The trade of Massilia was carried on in part by sea, in part by land, athwart the interior of Gaul. The constitution was a moderate aristocracy. The chief power was in the hands of 600 individuals; the members of this council were called *timuchi*, they held their places for life, were obliged to be married men with families, and descended at least to the third generation from a citizen. At the head of this council stood fifteen men, three of whom were chief magistrates. So early as 218 Massilia was in alliance with Rome, under whose fostering protection she grew in prosperity; her freedom was preserved to her until the war between Pompey and Cæsar; having sided with the former, she was stormed, 49, by Cæsar's army. She soon retrieved herself, and, under the reign of Augustus, Massilia was the seat of literature and philosophy, public lectures in which were given there as at Athens.

AUG. BRUECKNER, *Historia Reipublicæ Massiliensium*. Götting. 1826. A prize essay.

5. On the Spanish coast stood Saguntum, (*Ζακυνθός*), a colony from the island of Zacynthus; the date of its foundation is undetermined. It was rich by trade; but at the opening of the second Punic war, B. C. 219, was destroyed by Hannibal, as being an ally of Rome.

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PERIOD.

6. On the coast of Africa lay Cyrene, founded at the suggestion of the Delphian oracle in 631, by the island of Thera. The constitution was at first monarchical. Kings: Battus I. the founder, 631—591. The sceptre remained in his family. Arcesilaus I. *d.* 575. Under the reign of his successor, Battus II. surnamed the happy, (*d.* 554,) great increase of the colony by new comers from Greece. The Libyans, bereaved of their lands, seek for help at the hands of Apries, who is defeated by the Cyrenæans, 570, and in consequence loses his crown.—Arcesilaus II. *d.* 550. Rebellion of his brothers, and foundation of Barca, an independent town ruled by its own separate kings. Secession of the Libyan subjects. He is put to death by his brother or friend Learchus, who in his turn is poisoned by Eryxo the widow of Arcesilaus. Her son, Battus III. surnamed the lame, (*d.* about 529,) succeeds to the throne. The royal power confined within narrow limits by the laws of Demonax of Mantinea: the king retains nothing more than the revenue and priestly office. His son Arcesilaus III. becomes of his own accord tributary to the Persians; in conjunction with his mother, Pheretime, he seeks to reestablish the kingship, but is expelled; nevertheless he regains possession of Cyrene. In consequence of the cruelty with which he pursues his reign he is assassinated in Barca, about 516. Pheretime seeks for help from the Persian satrap of Egypt, Aryandes, who by craft gets possession of Barca; the inhabitants are carried away and translated into Bactria, 512. Soon after Pheretime dies. It seems probable that another Battus IV. and Arcesilaus IV. must have reigned at Cyrene, to whom Pindar's 4th and 5th Pythians are addressed: their history, however, is veiled in obscurity. Cyrene then received a republican constitution, probably somewhere about 450; but we are unacquainted with the internal details of the government. Yet though Plato was invited by the Cyrenæans to give them laws, and though they had for their legislator Democles of Arcadia, they appear never to have been blessed with a good and stable constitution. Not only is mention often made of domestic troubles, as in 400, when amid the uproar excited by Ariston the greatest part of the aristocratic party was cut off; but we likewise meet with frequent tyrants. Concerning the external affairs of this state we know nothing but a few general facts relative to the border wars with Carthage. Subsequently to Alexander, Cyrene became a part of the Egyptian kingdom; so early as the reign of Ptolemy I. it was added to that realm by his general

Ophellæ, about B. C. 331. It now continued to receive various rulers from the family of the Ptolemies (see below) until the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, when it became a separate state, the bastard son of the prince, Apion by name, having made it over to the Romans, 97. Cyrene drove a considerable trade, consisting partly in the exportation of the natural products, more especially the Silphium, (Laser,) partly in a varied intercourse with Carthage, Ammonium, and thence with the interior of Africa. The former splendour and importance of this city and the neighbouring country are testified by an abundance of most noble ruins; a more accurate research into which every friend of antiquity must desiderate.

HARDION, *Histoire de Cyrène*, in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. iii.

J. P. THRIGE, *Historia Cyrenes, inde a tempore quo condita urbs est, usque ad ætatem, qua in provinciæ formam a Romanis redacta est: particula prior, de initiis coloniæ Cyrenen deductæ, et Cyrenes Battjadis regnantibus historia*. Havniæ, 1819. The grand work on Cyrene. It is hoped that the author will not disappoint our expectations of the second part, which is to contain the period of republican government. A ray of light has for the first time been cast on the remains still found in Cyrenaica by DELLA CELLA, *Viaggio di Tripoli*; translated by Spieker, in the *Journal of the latest travels by sea and by land*, Sept. 1820.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the breaking out of the Persian wars to Alexander the Great, B. C. 500—336.

Sources. The chief writers in this period are: For the history of the Persian wars to the battle of Platææ, 479, Herodotus. For the period extending from 479 to the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, we must, in the lack of contemporary authors, consider as the principal source, Diodorus Siculus, from the beginning of the 11th book, which commences with the year 480, (the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th books being lost,) to the middle of the 12th; although the chronology of that author must in several cases be rectified after Thucydides's summary in lib. i. For the period of the Peloponnesian war, that is to say, from 431—410, the grand work is that of Thucydides, which must be accompanied by Diodorus, from the middle of the 12th book to the middle

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of the 13th.—From the year 410 to the battle of Mantinea, 362, the chief writer will be Xenophon, in his *Hellenics*, partly likewise in his *Anabasis* and *Agésilas*; together with Diodorus, from the middle of the 13th book to the end of the 15th. For the years intervening, from 362—336, no contemporary historian has been preserved; therefore Diodorus's 16th book must here be considered as the grand source: for the times of Philip, however, recourse must be likewise had to the speeches of Demosthenes and *Æschines*. The *Lives* of Plutarch and Nepos often touch upon this period, but cannot be regarded as authentic sources; still less is the authority of the abridged documents given by Justin and some others.

The modern authors on this, the brilliant period of Greece, are, of course, the same as have been enumerated above: (see p. 118.) To whom must be here added:

POTTER, *Archæologia Græca; or the Antiquities of Greece*: 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1722. Translated into German by J. J. Rambach, 3 vols. 1775.

BARTHELEMY, *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*. (Between the years B. C. 362 and 338.) Paris, 1788, 5 vols. Accompanied with charts and plans, for the illustration of the topography of Athens, etc. This work, no doubt, is conspicuous by a rare union of good taste and erudition; unattended, however, with an equal share of critical acumen and the proper feeling of antiquity.

† *History of the Origin, Progress, and Fall of Science in Greece and Rome*, by C. MEINERS. Gottingen, 1781. It contains also a delineation of the political state of affairs; but does not extend beyond the age of Philip.

The principal costly works published in illustration of the monuments of ancient Greece are:

LE ROY, *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce*. Paris, 1758, 2nd edit. 1770, fol. The first in point of time; but far surpassed by:

J. STUART, *The Antiquities of Athens measured and delineated*; 3 vols. Lond. 1762: the 4th vol. published in 1816. In beauty and accuracy of execution the first of all.

R. DALTON, *Antiquities and Views of Greece and Egypt*. 1691, fol. It contains of Egyptian monuments none but those of lower Egypt.

R. CHANDLER, *Ionian Antiquities*. London, 1796, 1797, 2 vols. fol. A worthy counterpart to Stuart.

CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, *Voyage pittoresque dans la Grèce*, vol. i. 1779: vol. ii. 1809. It comprises principally the islands and Asia Minor.

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ANDER.

1. From a multitude of small states, never united by one bond, but rather sundered by frequent feuds,—and such at the beginning of this period were the states of Greece,—nothing important can hardly be expected, unless some external event occurs, which by rallying the divided forces round one point, and directing them toward one object, may hinder them from mutually exhausting one another. By the Persian attack, the foundation was laid for the greatness of Greece; certain states then grew so rapidly in power, that upon their history hinges the general history of Greece.

Beneficial
effects of the
Persian in-
vasion.

Causes which led to the Persian war. Share taken by Athens in the Ionian insurrection and firing of Sardes, B. C. 500. (see above, p. 98.) Intrigues of Hippias, first with the satraps, and in the end at the Persian court itself.—First expedition, that of Mardonius, thwarted by a storm, 493.

2. Not even the summons to acknowledge the Persian yoke was sufficient to rouse the national energy of the Greeks. All the islands, and most of the states on the main land, concede the demand; Sparta and Athens alone boldly spurn the proposal. The Athenians, unassisted, and their leader Miltiades, acquainted from his youth with the Persians and their mode of warfare, and with the superiority of the arms of his countrymen, are the saviours of Greece.

Athens and
Sparta alone
reject the
demands of
Persia:
B. C. 491.

Quarrel of Athens and Sparta with Ægina, which holds for the Persians, 491; the consequent deposition of Demaratus, king of Sparta, by his colleague Cleomenes.

Persian expedition of Datis and Artaphernes under the guid-

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ANDER.

Expedition
against Pa-
ros by Mil-
tiades.

ance of Hippias : frustrated by the battle of Marathon, fought B. C. Sept. 29, 490, and the failure of an attempt upon Athens.

3. The immediate consequence of this victory was a naval expedition against the islands, Paros more particularly, to which Miltiades out of private grudge persuaded the Athenians : it was undertaken for the purpose of levying contributions ; and here, it seems, the Athenians first conceived the idea of the subsequent sovereignty of the sea. The Athenians visited upon Miltiades the failure of this expedition, although the effect of their own folly ; yet was this deed of injustice a source of happiness to Athens ; by causing the fall of Miltiades, it made room for those men who were to lay the firm foundation of her glory and greatness.

Internal
state of
Athens.

4. As in every democratic state waxing to power, the history of Athens now becomes that of eminent individuals, standing at the head of affairs, as generals or demagogues. Themistocles, who to an astonishing degree united in his person the most splendid talents of the statesman and general, with the spirit of intrigue, and even of egotism ; and Aristides, whose disinterestedness, even in those days, was singular at Athens, are the real founders of the power of this commonwealth. To the first, however, Athens was more indebted than to the latter.

Rivalry of these two men, 490—486. While Themistocles at the head of the Athenian fleet prosecutes the design of Miltiades against the islands, the management of state affairs is confided to the care of Aristides. On the return, however, of Themistocles as conqueror, Aristides is by ostracism banished Athens, 486. Themistocles alone, at the head of affairs, pursues his plan for making Athens a maritime power. In consequence of a war against

the object of popular hatred, Ægina, B. C. 484, he prevails on the Athenians to devote the income from the mines to the formation of a navy. While Athens is thus rising to power, Sparta is harassed by the insanity of one of her kings, Cleomenes, (succeeded in 482 by his half brother Leonidas,) and by the arrogance of the other, Leotychides.

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ANDER.

5. The glory of frustrating the second mighty Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes I. appertains solely to Themistocles. Not only the naval victory won by him off Salamis, but still more the manner in which he contrived to work upon his countrymen, demonstrates him to have been the first man of his day, and the deliverer of Greece, now united by one bond.—How weak are all national leagues: but how strong may not the weakest be made when knit by one great man, who knows how to inspire it with his own spirit!

Second ex-
pedition of
the Per-
sians de-
feated by
Themisto-
cles: B. C.
480.

Plan traced by Themistocles for the conduct of the war; partly by means of a common union of all the Hellenic states; a measure which succeeds to a certain degree, the honour of the command being left to the Spartans; partly by placing the theatre of war on the sea.—Gallant death of Leonidas with his 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians, July 6, 480. An example of heroism which contributes as much to the greatness of Greece as the victory of Salamis. About the same time naval engagements off Artemisium of Eubœa, with 271 sail. The leaders of the Greeks are kept to their posts merely by bribery; the means of purchasing their services are for the most part furnished by Themistocles himself.—Athens, reft of inhabitants, is taken and burnt by Xerxes, July 20. Retreat of the Grecian fleet into the bay of Salamis: revocation of all exiles, Aristides among the rest.—Cunning measures adopted by Themistocles to hinder the downcast Greeks from taking to flight, and at the same time to secure to himself, in case of need, an asylum with the Persian monarch.—Naval engagement and victory off Salamis, Sept. 23, 480, fought and won with 380 sail, (180 of which were Athenian,) against the Persian fleet, already much debilitated: retreat of Xerxes.—Poets and historians have disfigured these

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events by ideal exaggerations: may they, however, serve to show us how far human debility is wont to be attended with human greatness!

Battles of
Plataeæ and
Mycalæ,
B. C. Sept.
25, 479.

6. The victory of Salamis did not conclude the war; but the negotiations entered into during the winter months with the Persian general, Mardonius, left in Thessaly, and with the Asiatic Greeks, to excite them to throw off the yoke, show how far the confidence of the nation in its own strength had increased. The battle fought by the land troops at Plataeæ, under the command of the Spartan, Pausanias, (guardian to Plistarchus, son of Leonidas,) and that of the Athenian, Aristides; together with the battle fought on the same day at Mycalæ by the naval troops, and the burning of the Persian fleet, deliver Greece for ever from Persian invasion, although the war still continues.

Sparta has
the ascend-
ancy to 470.

7. The expulsion of the Persians wrought an entire change in the internal and external relations of Greece. From being the aggressed the Greeks became the aggressors; to free their Asiatic countrymen is now the chief object or pretext for the continuation of a war so profitable; the chief command of which abides with Sparta until B. C. 470.

Athens rebuilt and fortified by Themistocles despite of Spartan jealousy, 478: foundation of the Piræus; an event of still greater import, 477.—Naval expedition under Pausanias, accompanied by Aristides and Cimon, undertaken against Cyprus and Byzantium, for the purpose of expelling the Persians, 470. Treachery and fall of Pausanias, 460. In consequence of the Spartan's arrogance, the supremacy falls into the hands of the Athenians.

Athens as-
sumes the

8. This translation of the command to Athens.

decided on all the subsequent relations of Greece, not only inasmuch as it augmented the jealousy between Sparta and Athens, but because Athens made an use of her ascendant quite different from that made by Sparta.—Establishment of a permanent confederacy, comprising most of the Grecian states without Peloponnesus, the islands especially; adjustment of the contributions to be annually furnished by each; pretence, the prosecution of the Persian war, and liberation of the Asiatic Greeks from Persian thralldom. Although the common bank was at first placed at Delos, the superintendence of it was confided to Athens; and such a manager as Aristides was seldom to be found.—Natural consequence of this new establishment: 1. What had hitherto been mere military precedence, becomes in the hands of Athens a right of political prescription, and that, as usual, is soon converted into sovereignty. Hence the rise of the idea of the supremacy of Greece, (*ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*), as connected with that of the sea, (*θαλασσοκρατία*). 2. The oppression of the Athenians, sometimes real, at other times presumed, after a short while, rouses the spirit of discontent and contumacy among several of the confederates: hence, 3. The gradual formation of a counter league, headed by Sparta, who likewise retains the supremacy over the greatest part of Peloponnesus.

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chief com-
mand:

9. The changes introduced in the internal organization are not to be determined solely by the palpable alterations made in any of Lycurgus's or Solon's institutions. In Sparta, the general frame-work of Lycurgus's constitution subsisted;

conse-
quences
of that
change.

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nevertheless the power was virtually in the hands of the ephori, whose dictatorial sway placed Sparta in the formidable posture she now assumed.—At Athens, in proportion as the importance of foreign relations increased, and amid the protracted struggles between the heads of the democratic and aristocratic parties, the real power, under the outward appearance of a democracy, gradually centred in the hands of the 10 annually elected generals, (στρατηγοί,) who with more or less effect played the parts of demagogues.

Rescission of the law that excluded the poorer citizens from official situations, B. C. 478.

Expulsion of Themistocles, implicated in the fall of Pausanias, principally by the rancour of the Spartans: he is first banished by ostracism, 469; in consequence of farther persecution he flies over to the Persians, 466.

Brilliant
period of
Athens.

10. The following 40 years intervening from 470—430, constitute the splendid period of Athens. A concurrence of fortunate circumstances happening among a people of the highest abilities, and promoted by great men, produced here phenomena, such as never since have been witnessed. Political greatness was the fundamental principle of the commonwealth; Athens had been the guardian, the champion of Greece; she wished to appear worthy of herself. Hence in Athens alone were men acquainted with public splendour, exhibited in buildings, in spectacles, in festivals; the acquisition of which was facilitated by private frugality. This public spirit animating every citizen, expanded the blossoms of genius; no deeply indented line separated private life from public life; whatever great, what-

ever noble was produced by Athens, sprung up verdant and robust out of this harmony, this buxom vigour of the state. Far different was the case with Sparta; there rude customs and laws arrested the dilation of genius: there men were taught to die for the land of their forefathers; while at Athens they learnt to live for their country.

11. Meanwhile husbandry remained the principal occupation of the citizens of Attica; other employments were left to the hands of slaves. Commerce and navigation were especially directed towards the Thracian coast and the Black sea; yet the spirit of trade was not dominant. The embellished charms now presented by a participation in state affairs, caused men to feel the want of intellectual discipline; sophists and rhetors began to offer their instructions. Mental expertness rather than mental knowledge, was the object of those instructions; men wished to learn how to think and to speak. Poetic education had long preceded the rise of this national desire; poesy now lost nothing of its estimation: as heretofore Homer remained the cornerstone of intellectual improvement. Could it be that such blossoms would produce other fruits than those which grew to maturity in the school of a Socrates, in the masterpieces of the tragedians and orators, in the ever blooming works of Plato?

Athenian
civilization.

12. These flowers of national genius burst to view despite of many evils, inseparable from such a constitution established among such a people. Great men were pushed aside; others took their places. The loss of Themistocles is supplied by Miltiades's son Cimon; who to purer politics

Changes in
the persons
at the head
of affairs.

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PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

united equal talents. He protracted the war against the Persians in order to maintain the union of the Greeks; and favoured the aristocratic party at the same time that he affected popularity. Even his enemies learnt by experience, that the state could not dispense with a leader who seemed to have entered into a compact for life with victory.

Another expedition under Cimon; victory won by sea and land near the Eurymedon, B. C. 469. He takes possession of the Hellenopontine Chersonesus, 468. Already sundry of the Athenian confederates endeavour to secede. Hence, 467, the conquest of Caristus in Eubœa; subjection of Naxos, 466, and from 465—463, siege and capture of Thasos, under Cimon. The Athenians endeavour to obtain a firmer footing on the shore of Macedonia; and for that purpose send out a colony to Amphipolis, 465.

Great earthquake at Sparta; gives rise to a ten years' war, the third Messenian war or revolt of the Helots, who fortify themselves in Ithome, 465—455: in this war the Athenians, at the instigation of Cimon, send assistance to the Spartans, 461, who refuse the proffered aid. The democratic party seize the opportunity of casting on Cimon the suspicion of Laconism; he is banished by ostracism, 461.

Aristides
dies, B. C.
467.

13. The death of Aristides, and the banishment of Cimon, raise to the head of the state Pericles, whose influence began to operate so early as 469. Less a general than a demagogue, he supported himself in authority during forty years, until the day of his death, and swayed Athens without being either archon or member of the areopagus. That under him the constitution must have assumed a more democratic character, is demonstrated by the fact of his exaltation as leader of the democratic party. The aristocrats, however, contrive until 444 to set up rivals against him in the persons of the military leaders, My-

Pericles
dies, 429.

ronides, Tolmidas, and more particularly the elder Thucydides.

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TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Change in the spirit of administration under Pericles, both in reference to internal and external relations. A brilliant management takes the place of the parsimonious economy of Aristides; and yet, after the lapse of 30 years, the state treasury was full.—Limitation of the power of the areopagus by Ephialtes, B. C. 461. The withdrawal from that tribunal of various kinds of charges must have diminished its right of moral censorship.—Introduction of the practice of paying the persons who attended the courts of justice.

In respect of external relations, the precedence of the Athenians gradually advanced toward supremacy; although the relations with all the confederates were not precisely the same. Some were mere confederates; others were subjects.—Augmentation in the imposts on the confederates, and transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, 461. The jealousy of Sparta and the discontent of the confederates keep pace with the greatness of Athens.

Unsuccessful attempt to support by the help of an Athenian fleet and troops, Inarus of Egypt in his insurrection against the Persians, 462—458.

Wars in Greece: the Spartans instigate Corinth and Epidaurus against Athens. The Athenians, at first defeated near Halie, in their turn rout the enemy, 458, and then carry the war against Egina, which is subjected, 457. In the new quarrel between Corinth and Megara respecting their boundaries, the Athenians side with Megara; Myronides conquers at Cimolia, 457. Expedition of the Spartans to the support of the Dorians against Phocis; and hence arises the first rupture between Athens, Sparta, and Bæotia. First battle of Tanagra, in which the Spartans come off conquerors in the same year, 457. The Bæotians, incited by the Spartans, are in the second battle of Tanagra worsted by Myronides, 456. The recal of Cimon, at the suggestion of Pericles himself, is a consequence of the first defeat.

14. Cimon recalled from exile, endeavours on the one hand to reestablish the domestic peace of Greece, on the other hand to renew the war against the Persians. He succeeds in his attempt Cimon re-
stored.

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PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.
B. C. 450.

449.

after the lapse of five years, and the consequence is a victorious expedition against the Persians; he defeats their fleet off Cyprus, and routs their army on the Asiatic coast. The fruit of this victory is the celebrated peace with Artaxerxes I. (see above, p. 104.) Ere that peace is concluded Cimon dies, too soon for his country, at the time that he is busied in the siege of Citium.

Termination of the third Messenian war to the advantage of Sparta, by the cession of Ithome, B. C. 455.—On the other hand, the war of Athens with Peloponnesus is prosecuted; Tolmidas and Pericles make an incursion by sea on the enemy's territory, 455—454. At the same time Pericles, by sending out colonies to the Hellespont, endeavours to secure more firmly the Athenian power in that quarter: a colony is likewise sent out to Naxos, 453.—Cimon negotiates a truce, which is adopted first (451) tacitly, afterward formally, (450,) for five years. The result of this truce is his victorious expedition against the Persians, and the consequent peace with that nation. Although the conditions of the peace prescribed by Cimon were sometimes infringed, they appear to have been ratified by all parties.

State of
Greece after
the peace
with Persia.

431.

15. The conclusion of peace with Persia, glorious though it was, and the death of the man whose grand political object was to preserve union among the Greeks, again aroused the spirit of internal strife. And notwithstanding nearly twenty years intervened before the tempest burst with all its fury, that period was so stormy, that seldom during its course did Greece enjoy a general peace. While Athens by her naval strength was maintaining her ascendancy over the confederates, while some of those confederates were raising the standard of rebellion and passing over to Sparta, every thing gradually combined towards the formation of a counter league, the necessary consequence of which must be a war, such as the Pe-

nesian. Until then Athens stood at the height of her power; she was governed by Pericles, all but the name, was sole ruler during this period, and for that reason suffered not from the effects of a democratic constitution. Who, indeed, could overthrow the demagogue whose prudence was a proof against the effects of the greatest success; who knew how to keep alive among his fellow-citizens the conviction that, exalted as they were, to him they were indebted for that exaltation?

During the five years' truce occurs the sacred war for the possession of the Delphian oracle, which is given by the Spartans to the city of Delphi, but after their return, is given back again by the Athenians to the Phocians, B. C. 448. The Athenians compelled by Tolmidas, are defeated by the Bœotians, 447. That expedition, undertaken in opposition to the advice of Pericles, contributes to increase his influence; particularly as he replaces the peace on revolted Eubœa and Megara, 446. End of the five years' truce with Sparta; and renewal of hostilities, 445; far-warlike proceedings are repressed by a new 30 years' peace, which lasts, however, only 14 years.—Complete oppression of the democratic party, by the banishment of the elder Thucydides, and the whole administration of the state consequently centres in the hands of Pericles.—Democracy in the confederate states failed; forcibly introduced in Samos, which, after a nine months' resistance, is obliged to submit to Pericles, 440.—Commencement of the war between Corinth and Corcyra, on the subject of Epicharmus, 436, which the Corcyræans take possession of after winning a naval victory, 435. The Athenians intermeddle in the quarrel, and side with the Corcyræans, 432. The rupture with Corinth, and the policy of Perdiccas II. king of Macedonia, lead to the secession of the Corinthian colony of Potidæa, which had been allied to the Athenian confederacy: in consequence the war likewise extended to the Macedonian coast. Engagement at Potidæa, and siege of that town, 432. The Corinthians follow their steps to Sparta, and excite the Spartans to war; the result of which is hastened by the attack of the Thebans upon Corcyra, the confederate of Athens, 431.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Peloponne-
sian war,
B. C. 431
—404.

16. The history of the twenty-seven years' war, known by the name of the Peloponnesian, or great Grecian war, which swept away the fairest blooms of Greece, is the more remarkable, as being not a mere struggle against nations, but likewise against certain forms of government. The policy of Athens, which to establish or preserve her influence in foreign states, excited the multitude against the higher orders, had on all sides given rise to two factions, the democrat or Athenian, the aristocrat or Spartan; and the mutual bitterness of party spirit produced most violent explosions.

Power and
influence of
Athens and
Sparta.

17. The respective relations of the two head states of Greece to their confederates, were at this time of a very opposite nature. Athens, as a naval power, was mistress of most of the islands and maritime cities, which, as tributary confederates, paid for the most part a forced obedience. Sparta, a land power, was allied with most of the states on the continent, which had joined her side of their own accord, and were not subject to tribute. Sparta stepped forth as the deliverer of Greece from the Athenian yoke.

Confederates of the Athenians: the islands Chios, Samos, Lesbos, all those of the Archipelago, (Thera and Melos excepted, who stood neutral,) Corcyra, Zacynthus; the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor, and on the coast of Thrace and Macedonia; in Greece itself, the cities of Naupactus, Plataeæ, and those of Acarnania.—Confederates of the Spartans: all the Peloponnesians, (Argos and Achaia excepted, who stood neutral,) Megara, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, the cities of Ambracia and Anactorium, the island of Leucas.

Internal
state of
Athens and
Sparta.

18. Sketch of the internal state of Athens and Sparta at this period. The power of Athens de-

ed mainly on the state of her finances; with-
which she could not support a fleet, and with-
fleet her ascendancy over the confederates
to the ground. And although Pericles, not-
withstanding his lavish public expenditure, was
to enter upon the war with 6,000 talents in
treasury, experience could not fail to show
in such a democratic state as Athens was
become under Pericles, the squandering of
public money is an unavoidable evil. This
was produced, however, at Athens much less
the peculations of individual state officers than
the demands of the multitude, who for the
part lived at the expense of the state trea-

On the other hand, Sparta as yet had no
ce; the want of which she began to feel only
proportion as she began to assume the charac-
of a naval power, and entered upon under-
ings more vast than mere incursions.

financial system of the Athenians. Revenue: 1. The tribute
by the confederates (*φόροι*) increased by Pericles from 460
0 talents. 2. Income from the customs, (which were
1,) and from the mines at Laurium. 3. The caution mo-
the non-citizens: (*μέτοικοι*.) 4. The taxes on the citizens,
(*εὐχαι*), which fell almost entirely on the rich, more particularly
first class, the members of which were not only to bear
burthen of fitting out the fleet, (*πρεσβυχίαι*), but were likewise
with the means for the public festivals and spectacles, (*χο-*
) The whole income of the republic at this time was esti-
at 2,000 talents. But the disbursements made to the nu-
s assistants at the courts of justice—the principal means of
ence with the poorer citizens, by whom the licentiousness of
mocracy and the oppression of the confederates, whose causes
brought to Athens, were mainly supported—these disburse-
I say, and the expenditure for festivals and spectacles,
at this time, absorbed the greatest part of the revenue.

. BOEKH, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, 2 parts,

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Berlin, 1816. The chief work on the subject. A good English translation, by a member of Christ Church in this university.

Athenian Letters, or the Epistolary Correspondence of an Agent of the King of Persia, residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian war. London, 1798, 2 vols. 4to. The production of several young authors; first printed, but not published, in 1741. This sketch comprises, not only Greece, but likewise Persia and Egypt.

First period
of the war,
B. C. 431
—422.

19. First period of the war until the 50 years' peace. Beginning of the war unsuccessful to Athens during the first three years, under the conduct of Pericles, in whose defensive plan we may perhaps discern the infirmities of age. Not so much injury, however, was effected by the annual inroads of the Spartans as by the pestilence, to which Pericles himself at last fell a victim.
429. The alliance of the Athenians with the kings of Thrace and Macedonia extended the theatre of war; on the other hand, Sparta had already conceived the idea of an alliance with Persia.
- 430.

Conse-
quence of
the death
of Pericles.

20. The death of Pericles was, during the seven subsequent years, now that the place of that great man was supplied by Cleon a currier, followed by all the consequences of an uncurbed democracy. The dire resolves in respect to Mitylene, which, after seceding, had been recaptured, and the insurrection of the Corcyraean populace against the rich, characterized the party spirit then dominant in Greece better than the few insignificant events of a war conducted without any plan. Sparta, however, found in young Brasidas a general, such as are wont to arise in revolutionary times. His prosecution of the war on the Macedonian coast might have brought great danger on Athens, had he not too soon fallen a victim to his own gallantry.
- 427.
- 424.
- 422.

Capture of Amphipolis by Brasidas, and exile of Thucydides, 424. Engagement near Amphipolis between Brasidas and Cleon; and death of those two generals, 422.

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PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

21. The peace now concluded for 50 years could not be of any duration, inasmuch as many of the confederates on either side were discontented with its terms. And all hope of tranquillity must have been at an end when the helm of Athens fell into the hands of a youth like Alcibiades, in whom vanity and artifice held the place of patriotism and true talent, and who thought that war was the only field in which he could gain credit. Against him what availed the prudence of Nicias?—Happy was it for Athens that during the whole of this period Sparta never produced one man who could be a match even for Alcibiades!

Peace not
lasting.
B. C. 422.

Alcibiades
at the head
of affairs,
420.

Attempt of some states, Corinth especially, to set Argos at the head of a new confederacy; this measure Athens likewise favours, 421.—Violation of the peace, 419; the war indirect until 415, and limited to assisting the confederates on either side.—Alcibiades's plan of giving Athens the preponderance in Peloponnesus, by an alliance with Argos: it is defeated by the battle of Mantinea, 417.—Exterminating war of the Athenians waged against the Melians, who wish to preserve their neutrality, whereas neutrality in the weaker party now becomes a crime, 416.

22. Alcibiades's party brings forward at Athens the project of conquering Sicily, under the pretence of succouring the Segestani against the Syracusans. This expedition, in which the hopes both of the Athenians and of their instigator Alcibiades were blighted, gave to Athens the first great blow, from which never after, even with the most strained exertion of her strength, could she

Project
upon Sicily.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

recover; especially as Sparta also was now a naval power.

Early interference of the Athenians with the concerns of the Sicilian Greeks.—A fleet and army under the command of Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, are sent against Sicily, 415.—Accusation, recall, and flight to Sparta of Alcibiades: formal rupture of the peace by an inroad of the Spartans into Attica, where they fortify Declea, 414. Unsuccessful siege of Syracuse, 414; and total annihilation of the Athenian fleet and army by the assistance of the Spartans under Gylippus, 413.

Athens af-
ter the war
in Sicily.

23. Fatal as in the present circumstances the blow struck in Sicily must appear to have been to Athens, yet the calamity was surmounted by Athenian enthusiasm, never greater than in times of misfortune. They maintained their supremacy over the confederates; but the part which Alcibiades, in consequence of the new posture his own personal interest had assumed in Sparta, took in their affairs, brought about a twofold domestic revolution, by which the licentious democracy was checked.

Alliance of the Spartans with the Persians, and undecisive engagement off Miletus.—Flight of Alcibiades from Sparta to Tissaphernes; his negotiations to gain the satrap over to the interests of Athens, 411.—Equivocal policy of Tissaphernes.—Negotiations of Alcibiades with the chiefs of the Athenian army at Samos, and the consequent revolution at Athens, and overthrow of the democracy by the appointment of the supreme council of 400 in place of the βουλὴ, and of a committee of 5,000 citizens in place of the popular assembly, 411.—The army assumes the right of debate; names Alcibiades to be its leader; but declares again for democracy.—Great commotions disturb Athens itself, proceeding from the discomfiture of the fleet at Eretria, and the consequent secession of Eubœa. Deposition of the college of 400, after a despotic rule of four months;—Reformation of the government;—Transfer of the highest power to the hands of the 5,000;—Recall of Alcibiades, and reconciliation with the army.

24. Brilliant period of Alcibiades's command. The reiterated naval victories won by the Athenians over the Spartans under Mindarus, who, mistrusting Tissaphernes, now forms alliance with Pharnabazus, satrap of the north of Asia Minor, necessitate the Spartans to propose peace, which the overweening Athens, unluckily for herself, rejects.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Brilliant
period of
Alcibiades,
B. C. 411
—410.

Two naval engagements on the Hellespont, 411.—Great victory by sea and land won near Cyzicus, 410.—Confirmation of the Athenian dominion over Ionia and Thrace by the capture of Byzantium, 408. Alcibiades returns covered with glory; but in the same year is deposed, and submits to a voluntary exile, 407.

25. Arrival of the younger Cyrus in Asia Minor; the shrewdness of Lysander wins him over to Spartan interest. The republican haughtiness of Lysander's successor, Callicratidas, shown to Cyrus, was a serious error in policy; for, unassisted by Persian money, Sparta was not in a situation to subsidiate her mariners, nor consequently to support her naval establishment. After the defeat and death of Callicratidas, the command is restored to Lysander, who terminates the 27 years' war triumphantly for Sparta.

Anabasis of
Cyrus,
407.

406.

406.

405—403.

Naval victory of Lysander over the Athenians at Notium, 407; in consequence of which Alcibiades is deprived of the command.—Appointment of ten new leaders at Athens; Conon among the number.—Naval victory of Callicratidas at Mitylene; Conon is shut up in the harbour of that place, 406.—Great naval victory of the Athenians; defeat and death of Callicratidas at the Ægine islands, near Lesbos, 406.—Unjust condemnation of the Athenian generals.—Second command of Lysander, and last decisive victory by sea over the Athenians at Ægospotamos on the Hellespont, Dec. 406.—The loss of the sovereignty of the sea is accompanied by the defection of the confederates, who are successively subjected by Lysander, 406.—Athens is besieged by

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

End of the
Peloponne-
sian war.

Lysander in the same year, 405; the city surrenders in May 404.—Athens is deprived of her walls; her navy is reduced to 12 sail; and, in obedience to Lysander's commands, the constitution is commuted into an oligarchy, under 30 rulers, (tyrants.)

26. Thus ended a war destructive in its moral, still more than in its political, consequences. Party spirit had taken the place of patriotic feeling; national prejudice that of national energy. Athens now subjected, Sparta stood at the head of confederate Greece; but Greece must, at the very first, have experienced, that the rule of her deliverers was more galling than that of the nation hitherto called her oppressor. What woe must have ensued from the revolutions Lysander now found it necessary to effect in most of the Grecian states, in order to place the helm of government in the hands of his own party under the superintendence of a Spartan harmost?—What evils must have been wrought by so many Spartan garrisons?—Nor could any alleviation of tribute be hoped for, now that in Sparta it was acknowledged that the "state must possess an exchequer."—The arrogance and rapacity of the new masters were by so much the greater as those masters were more uncivilized and destitute.

History of the reign of terror at Athens under the 30 tyrants, 403.—The same that happened here must likewise have happened more or less in the rest of the Grecian cities, which Lysander found it necessary to revolutionize; in all quarters his party consisted of men similar to Critias and his colleagues. They appear to have united long before in clubs (*ταίρειαι*) intimately connected; from which were now taken the most daring revolutionists, in order to place them everywhere at the head of affairs.

Expulsion
of the thirty
tyrants.

27. Happy revolution in Athens, and expulsion of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, favoured by

the party at Sparta opposed to Lysander, and headed by king Pausanias. Restoration and reform of Solon's constitution ; general amnesty. It was easy to reestablish forms ; to recall the departed spirit of the nation was impossible !

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

B. C. 403.

ED. PH. HINRICHS, *De Theramenis, Critiæ et Thrasyluli, virorum tempore belli Peloponnesiaci inter Græcos illustrium, rebus et ingenio Commentatio*, Hamburgi, 1820. An inquiry conducted with industry and impartiality.

28. The defeat of the younger Cyrus entangles the Spartans in a war with the Persians, the same year that, after the death of king Agis, Agesilaus takes possession of the kingly dignity. We willingly forget his usurpation as we follow him along his path of heroism. None but a man of genius could have instructed Sparta how to support for so long a time the extravagant character which she had now undertaken to play.

War of the
Spartans
with Persia,
460.

Opening of the war with Persia by Tissaphernes's attack on the Æolian cities of Asia Minor, 400.—Command of Thimbron, who, 398, is succeeded by the more successful and fortunate Dercyllidas.—Availing himself of the jealousy between Tissaphernes and Artabazus, he persuades the latter to a separate truce, 397.—Command of Agesilaus ; his expedition into Asia, from the spring of 396 until 394. The conviction which he obtained of the domestic weakness of the Persian empire in the successful invasion of Phrygia, 395, seems to have matured in the mind of Agesilaus the idea of overturning the Persian throne : this design he was about to accomplish, had not the Persians been so skilful as to rouse a war against Sparta within Greece itself.

29. The Corinthian war, waged against Sparta by Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, to which Athens and the Thessalians unite, terminated by the peace of Antalcidas. The tyranny of Sparta, and more particularly the late devastation of Elis, a sacred territory, were the pretexts ; the bribes of

Corinthian
war, 394.

387.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Timocrates, the Persian envoy, were the real causes of this war.

Irruption of the Spartans in Bœotia; they engage and are routed at Haliartus, 394. Lysander falls on the field of battle; and Agesilaus is recalled out of Asia.—His victory at Coronea ensures to the Spartans the preponderance by land; but the discomfiture of their navy near Cnidus at the same time, gives to their enemies the sovereignty of the sea: Conon, who commanded the combined Persian and Athenian fleets, avails himself, with consummate skill, of this success to reestablish the independence of Athens, 393.—Sparta endeavours by apparently great sacrifices to bring over the Persians to her interests: the peace at last concluded by the efforts of the skilful Antalcidas, (see above¹,) was readily agreed to by the Spartans, as they gave up only what otherwise they could not have retained. The preponderance of Sparta on the continent of Greece was established by the article which invested them with the power of seeing the conditions of the treaty fulfilled: the stipulated freedom of the Grecian cities was but an apparent disadvantage; and now that the Asiatic colonies were given up, the contest for power in Greece itself must be decided by land, and not by sea.

B. C. 386.
384.

383—380.

382.

Rivalry of
Sparta and
Thebes.

30. The quarrels which, after the peace of Antalcidas, Sparta began to have with Mantinea and Phlius, and still more so her participation in those between the Macedo-Greek cities and the over-powerful Olynthus, demonstrate too evidently the arrogance with which Sparta behaved to the weaker states. But the arbitrary appropriation of the citadel of Thebes by Phœbidas, an act not indeed commanded, yet approved by Sparta, was attended with more serious consequences than at first were expected. Would that all authors of similar breaches of good faith and of the law of nations were visited with the same vengeance.

31. Period of the rivalry of Sparta and Thebes, from the year 378. The greatness of Thebes was

¹ Book ii. parag. 42.

the work of two men, who knew how to inspire their fellow-citizens and confederates with their own heroic spirit: with them Thebes rose, with them she fell. Rarely does history exhibit such a *duumvirate* as that of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. How high must our estimation of Pythagoras be, even had his philosophy formed but one man such as Epaminondas!

Liberation of Thebes from Spartan rule by the successful attempt of Pelopidas and his fellow-conspirators, 378. Vain attempts against Thebes, by the Spartans under Cleombrotus, 378, and Agesilaus, 377 and 376. The defensive war conducted by Pelopidas, during which he established the Theban supremacy in Bœotia, and brought over the Athenians, (whose fleet, 376, beat that of the Spartans,) deserves our admiration more than the winning of a battle.—The vast plans of Thebes were not unfolded, however, till Epaminondas was at the head of affairs.

SERAN DE LA TOUR, *Histoire d'Epaminondas*. Paris, 1752.

† MEISSNER, *Life of Epaminondas*. Prague, 1801, 2 parts. In which the sources are taken into consideration.

† J. G. SCHEIBEL, *Essays towards a better understanding of the Ancient World*, 1809. The second part contains the essay towards a history of Thebes; the first an essay towards the history of Corinth.

32. A general peace in Greece is mediated by the Persians, (who wish to obtain auxiliaries against the Egyptians,) under the condition that all the Grecian cities shall be free: it is acceded to by Sparta and Athens, but rejected by Thebes, because she cannot admit the condition without again falling under the Spartan yoke. In fact, 372. the lofty language used by Epaminondas, as envoy to Sparta, shows that it was problematic whether Sparta or Thebes should now be at the head of Greece. And could the idea then of a perfect equality between the states of Greece be other than chimerical?

General
peace in
Greece me-
diated by
Persia:
B. C. 374.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Epaminon-
das: B. C.
371—362.

33. The long struggle maintained so gloriously by Epaminondas against Sparta is remarkable, both in a political and a military sense. The power of Sparta was abashed; Epaminondas invented a new system of tactics, out of which soon after sprang the Macedonian art of war; and as soon as he found confederates in Peloponnesus itself, cut his way to the very gates of Sparta.

Victory won by the Thebans at Leuctra, July 8, 371, and annihilation of what hitherto had been called the supremacy of Sparta.—First irruption into Peloponnesus preceded by alliances with Arcadia, Elis, and Argos.—The attack upon Sparta itself is unsuccessful; but the freedom of Messene is restored, 369.

Spartainal-
liance with
Athens.

34. Sparta in distress frames an alliance with Athens, under the stipulation that the command shall alternately be in the hands of the two confederates; conditions, no doubt, humiliating to Spartan pride! It is, nevertheless, the means of frustrating Epaminondas's new attempt on Corinth and the Peloponnesus. Even Dionysius I. of Syracuse, thinks himself held to send assistance to the Spartans as being Dorians.

35. In the north, Thebes plays a part not less brilliant than in the south. Had the attempts to liberate Thessaly from the rule of the tyrant, Alexander of Pheræ, been attended with success, Thebes would have received a vast increase of power. Even in Macedonia she acts as arbitress.

First and successful expedition of Pelopidas into Thessaly, 368.—After the decision of the disputed succession to the Macedonian throne, young Philip is brought as hostage to Thebes, and educated in the house of Epaminondas.—Pelopidas is sent as ambassador, and taken prisoner by Alexander; hence the second expedition of the Thebans, in which Epaminondas rescues the army and delivers his friend, 367.

36. Alliance of Thebes with Persia successfully brought about by Pelopidas. In the intrigues of the opponents at the Persian court, the question to be decided was, who should bring that court over to his own interest? Yet the domineering tone in which the Persians wished to order peace, had not the consequences that might have been expected; and although Sparta consented to her confederates remaining neutral, she would not forego her claims on Messene. More important for Thebes than this alliance would have been the establishment of a navy, had not all these plans, together with the greatness of Thebes, been swept away by the too early death of her two head men. B. C. 365.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

Alliance of
Thebes and
Persia.

Last expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander of Pheræ, in which he himself falls, 364.—New irruption into Peloponnesus caused by the commotions in Arcadia.—Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas, June 27, 362.—General peace in Greece mediated by the Persians; Sparta does not assent to it on account of Messene, but sends Agesilaus to Egypt, there to support the insurrection of Tachos.

37. The result of this bloody struggle for the supremacy of Greece was, that neither Sparta nor Thebes obtained it; the former of these states being weakened by the loss of Messene, the latter by the loss of its leaders, and both strained by their violent exertions. The situation of Greece subsequently to this war seems to have been so far changed, that no state was at the head; an independence proceeding from enervation. Even Athens, who by means of her naval power still preserved her influence over the cities on the coast and in the islands, lost the greater part in the war of the allies, together with three of her

State of
Greece af-
ter the war
between
Thebes and
Sparta.

THIRD
PERIOD,
TO ALEX-
ANDER.

most celebrated leaders, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates, whose places were ill supplied by Chares.

Confederacy of the islands Cos, Rhodes, and Chios, and the city of Byzantium; their secession from Athens, 358.—Unsuccessful siege of Chios, before which Chabrias falls, 358; of Byzantium, 357. Athens suffers a still greater injury from the cabals of Chares against his colleagues Timotheus and Iphicrates, and from her imprudent participation in the insurrection of Artabazus, 356. The threats of Artaxerxes III. force Athens to make a peace, in which she is obliged to acknowledge the freedom of her confederates.

Sacred war:
B.C. 356—
346.

38. At the very time when the growing power of Macedonia under Philip ought to have united all the Grecian states, had such an union been within the range of possibility, Greece plunged into another civil war of ten years' duration, which is known by the name of the sacred or Phocian war. The Amphictyonic assembly, whose duty it was to maintain peace, and whose influence had been in the present circumstances reinstated, abused its authority by kindling discord. The hatred of the Thebans, who sought for new opportunities of quarrel with Sparta, and the ambition of the Phocians, were the real causes which led to the war. The treasures of Delphi circulating in Greece, were as injurious to the country as the ravages which it underwent. A war springing out of private passions, fostered by bribes and subsidiary troops, and terminated by the interference of foreign powers, was exactly what was requisite to annihilate the scanty remains of morality and patriotism still existing in Greece.

Sentence of the Amphictyons against Sparta on account of the

attack made formerly by Phœbidas upon Thebes: against Phocis on account of the tillage of the sacred lands of Delphi, 357.—Philomelus is leader of the Phocians; the rifling of the treasury of Delphi enables him to take into his pay Athenian and other auxiliaries, and to carry war against the Thebans and their confederates, the Locrians, etc. under pretence of their being the executors of the Amphictyonic decrees. Philomelus having fallen, 353, is succeeded by his brother Onomarchus, more skilful than himself in intrigue and war: but Onomarchus having fallen, 352, in the battle with Philip in Thessaly, is followed by Phaylus. Philip already makes the attempt of pushing through Thermopylæ into Greece, but is repelled by the Athenians. He executes this plan after his peace with Athens, 347, and having secured the expulsion of the Phocians from the Amphictyonic council, gets their place and right of vote to be transferred to himself.

39. From the time of this the first advance of Philip, the fate of Greece could scarcely afford matter for doubt; although the eloquence of Demosthenes warded it off until the second invasion, caused by the Amphictyonic sentence passed on the Locrians. (See below, in the following book².) The battle of Chæronea laid the founda-
 Philip's advance into Greece.
 B. C. 336.
 tion of Macedonia's complete ascendancy over the Grecian republics: by the appointment of Philip to be generalissimo of Greece in the Persian war, that ascendancy was, as it were, formally acknowledged; nor was it put an end to by the assassination of the prince.

² Book iv. parag. 15.

FOURTH BOOK.

HISTORY OF THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY.

FIRST PERIOD.

From its origin to the death of Alexander the Great.
B. C. 800—323.

**FIRST
PERIOD.**

SOURCES. We have no historian that wrote, particularly, on Macedonia, anterior to Alexander. The facts relative to the earlier history previous to Philip are collected from Diodorus, Justin, Thucydides, Arrian, from Diodorus more especially. In consequence of the loss of the other historians, Diodorus is the chief authority for the history of Philip; recourse, however, must likewise be had to the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines, which are to be used in the spirit of historical criticism. With respect to Alexander the great, since so many writers on his reign have been destroyed by time, Arrian now must be considered as the chief authority, on account of the care he has shown in the selection of his sources: Arrian must be accompanied by the 17th book of Diodorus. Plutarch's biography contains several valuable additional facts; and even the superficial Curtius might furnish us with abundance of information, did his accounts offer higher claims to our credit.

Origin of
the king-
dom: about
B.C. 813.

1. An Hellenic colony from Argos, headed by the Temenidæ, a branch of the sept of Hercules, settled in Emathia, and laid the feeble foundation of the Macedonian empire, which was in time to rise to such power. Not only did the settlers keep their footing in the country, despite of the aboriginal inhabitants; but their kings even extended, by degrees, their territory, subjecting or expelling several of the neighbouring tribes.

Their earlier history, not excepting even the names of their kings, is clouded with darkness until the time of the Persian irruptions. FIRST PERIOD.

The three first Macedonian kings, Caranus said to have ruled 28 years, Cœnus 23, Tyrmas 45, are unknown to Herodotus, who names as founder of the Macedonian monarchy, Perdiccas, 729—678. Of this prince and his successors Argæus, *d.* 640, Philip I. *d.* 602, Æropus, *d.* 576, and Alcetas, *d.* 547, nothing more is known than that they waged, with various fortune, wars against the neighbouring Pierians and Illyrians, who had their own kings.

2. When the Persians commenced their incursions into Europe, Macedonia, by its situation, must have been one of the first countries they met with. So early as the reign of Darius Hystaspis, the Macedonian kings were, accordingly, tributary to the Persians; for their delivery from that yoke they were indebted, not to their own valour, but to the victories of the Greeks. The battle of Platææ restored independence to the Macedonian kingdom, although that independence was not formally acknowledged by the Persians. Situation at the time of the Persian invasion.
B. C. 479.

Immediately after the Scythian campaign, 513, Amyntas (*d.* 498,) became tributary to the Persians; his son and successor, Alexander, (*d.* 454,) was in the same state of subjection, and even was compelled to follow in the train of Xerxes.

3. But the expulsion of the Persians soon roused other formidable neighbours against the kings of Macedonia; on the one hand the Thracians, among whom, under Sitalces and his successor Seuthes, arose the large kingdom of the Odrysæ; on the other hand, the Athenians, who, availing themselves of their power by sea, brought under their yoke the Grecian settlements on the Situation after the retreat of the Persians.
d. 424.

FIRST
PERIOD.

Macedonian shores. Harassing as these neighbours were to the Macedonian kings, they became the very instruments by which Macedonia was so early and so deeply involved in the affairs of Greece.

Commencement of the differences with Athens, under the reign of Perdiccas II. 454—413; Athens having supported his brother Philip against him.—Defection of Potidaea and fortification of Olynthus, into which the Greeks from Chalcis and other cities are transplanted, 432. Potidaea being forced to surrender to Athens, 431, Perdiccas contrives to play, in the Peloponnesian war now commencing, so skilful a part, that he outwits the Athenians, parrying the attack of Sitalces by a marriage of his sister with Seuthes, the heir to that prince, 429. His alliance with Sparta, 424, brings great damage on the Athenians, Brasidas wresting Amphipolis from their hands; nevertheless Perdiccas, rather than cast himself wholly in the arms of his new allies, prefers now to conclude a peace with Athens, 423.

Archelaus
lays the
foundation
of Macedo-
nia, B. C.
413—400.

4. Archelaus, the successor of Perdiccas, laid the foundation of agriculture and civilization among his subjects, who were, however, never recognized by the Hellenes as their legitimate brethren: highways and military roads were constructed; forts were erected; and the court was made the seat of literature. In those days the Macedonian kingdom comprised, it would seem, Emathia, Mygdonia, and Pelagonia; to which may be added some of the neighbouring tribes, who, although ruled by their own kings, were tributary. The power of the kings was insignificant when unaided by the nobles, among whom, as was the case with all the hereditary princes of Greece, they merely held the right of precedence. How difficult was it, even in Alexander's time, to erase from the minds of the Macedonian nobility the recollection of their former importance!

5. The murder of Archelaus was followed by a stormy period, wrapped in obscurity: the unsettled state of the laws of succession raised up many pretenders to the throne, each of whom found, without difficulty, the means of supporting his claims, either in some of the neighbouring tribes, or in one of the Grecian republics.

Æropus, as guardian to the young king Orestes, usurps the supreme power, B. C. 400—394. After his death, and the murder of his son Pausanias, 393, possession is taken of the throne by Amyntas II. son of Philip, and brother to Perdiccas II. who is nevertheless unable to maintain his power until he wins a victory over Argæus, the brother of Pausanias, who is backed by the Illyrians, 390—369. The war with Olynthus, 383—380, cannot be brought to a successful conclusion until he frames alliance with Sparta.

6. The three sons of Amyntas II. Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, successively ascended the throne after the death of their father; but so violent were the commotions during the reigns of the two former, that the future existence of Macedonia as a kingdom might have been regarded as problematic: it is certain that they were obliged to submit to the payment of tribute to the Illyrians.

Alexander, in opposition to his rival, Ptolemey of Alorus, placed on the throne by Pelopidas, sends his youngest brother Philip as hostage to Thebes: in the same year he is deposed by Ptolemey, 368. Reign of Ptolemey, 368—365, with the stipulation, imposed, 367, by Pelopidas, that he shall have the sceptre in keeping for the two younger brothers. Murder of Ptolemey, 365, by Perdiccas III. who is nearly overwhelmed by Pausanias, another and earlier pretender to the crown; he is at last firmly seated on the throne by the Athenians, under Iphicrates, 364. But so early as 360 he falls in the war against the Illyrians, leaving behind him a son, Amyntas, yet in his nonage, and a younger brother Philip, who escapes from Thebes to assume the sceptre.

FIRST
PERIOD.
Philip,
B. C. 360
—336.

7. The reign of Philip, which lasted twenty-four years, is one of the most instructive and interesting in the whole range of history, on account of the prudence displayed by that prince, in the manner in which his plans of action were forecast and executed. Difficult though it be to trace in his morals the pupil of Epaminondas, yet it is impossible to view without feelings of astonishment the brilliant career of a man, who, amid the almost hopeless circumstances in which he commenced his course, never lost his firmness of mind, and yet in the highest prosperity preserved his coolness of reflection.

The history of Philip, even in his own days, was contorted to his disadvantage by orators and historians. Demosthenes could not, Theopompus would not, be impartial; and our information in Diodorus and Justin is mostly derived from the work of the latter.

OLIVIER, *Histoire de Philippe, roi de Macédoine*. Paris, 1740, 2 vols. 8vo. A defence of Philip.

DE BURY, *Histoire de Philippe, et d'Alexandre le grand*. Paris, 1760, 4to. Very middling in its merits.

TH. LELAND, *The History of the Life and Reign of Philip, king of Macedon*. London, 1761, 4to. A dry work; but exhibiting much reading and a great spirit of fairness.

In MITFORD, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. Philip has found his most zealous panegyrist and defender. It would seem that, even in the present day, to write an impartial history of Philip is impossible.

8. Melancholy posture of the Macedonian affairs at the beginning of Philip's reign. Besides victorious foes abroad, there are at home two pretenders to the throne, Argæus, backed by Athens, Pausanias, supported by Thrace; and Philip himself, at first, is only regent, not king. In the two first years, however, every thing is changed,

and Macedonia recovers her independence. The newly-created phalanx ensures victory over the barbarians; recourse is had to other means than force to succeed against the suspiciousness of Athens and the neighbouring Greek settlements, particularly against the powerful Olynthus. In the conduct of these affairs Philip displays the peculiar sagacity of his character.

After the defeat of Argæus, peace is purchased from Athens by a momentary recognition of the freedom of Amphipolis, 360.—Removal of Pausanias by means of an accommodation with Thrace.—By the conquest of the Pæonians and Illyrians, 359, the boundaries of Macedonia are extended to Thrace, and westward to the lake Lychnitis.—So early as 360 Philip was proclaimed king.

9. Developement of Philip's farther plans of aggrandisement.—By the gradual subjection of the Macedo-Greek cities, he proposed, not only to make himself sole master in Macedonia, but also to remove the Athenians from his domain.—First object of his policy against Greece to get himself acknowledged as a Hellen, and Macedonia as a member of the Hellenic league. Hence it was that the subsequent tutelage in which Macedonia held Greece was not converted into a formal subjection, a proceeding which would have savoured too much of barbarian origin.—The execution of all these plans is facilitated to Philip by the possession of the Thracian gold mines, which enable him to create a system of finance as well as the phalanx.

Capture of Amphipolis, 358; in the mean while Athens is amused with promises, and Olynthus with the momentary cession of Potidæa, which had likewise been captured: this event is followed by the conquest of the mountain tracts, rich in gold, which

FIRST PERIOD. extend between the Nestus and Strymon; the mines furnish an annual income of nearly 1,000 talents.

possesses
himself of
Thessaly:

10. The interference of Philip in the affairs of Thessaly dates from the year 357; the possession of that country was an object equally important for the furtherance of his views upon Greece, and for the improvement of his finances. At first he stepped forth as the deliverer of Thessaly, but ended by annexing it as a province to Macedonia.

Expulsion of the tyrants from Pheræ, at the request of the Alenadæ, 356; the tyrants, however, receive in the sacred war support from the Phocians under Onomarchus. The final defeat of Onomarchus, 352, makes Philip master of Thessaly; he places Macedonian garrisons in the three chief places, and thus supports his authority in the country until he is pleased to give it, in every respect, the form of a Macedonian province, 344.

takes ad-
vantage of
the sacred
war:

11. The protraction of the sacred war in Greece furnished Philip with an excellent opportunity of promoting his views upon that country; although his first attempt at an irruption, too precipitately undertaken, was frustrated by the Athenians. The capture of Olynthus, despite of Athenian assistance, after a season of apparent inaction, must have insured the safety of his back frontiers; and by a master stroke of policy, at the same time almost that he was pushing the Athenians out of Eubœa, he found means to enter with them into negotiations, which, after repeated embassies, were closed by a peace, opening to him the way through Thermopylæ, and enabling him to raise a party favourable to himself within the very walls of Athens.

invades
Greece;

12. First descent of Philip into Greece, and close of the sacred war by the subdument of the

Phocians. The place which he now received in the Amphictyonic council, had been the grand object of his wishes; and the humility of Sparta proved how firmly his ascendancy over Greece was already established.

13. Delineation of the state of Greece, and Athens more particularly, after the sacred war; description of the means by which Philip succeeded in creating and supporting parties favourable to his own interests in the Grecian states. Bribery was not his only instrument; what he gave he borrowed from others; the main feature of his policy was, that he seldom or ever recurred to the same means. Scheming and consistent even in his drunken revels, he hardly ever appears under the same form.

FIRST
PERIOD.

fosters a
party in
Greece;

Dreadful consequences to the morals of the Greeks, resulting from the spirit of party, the decline of religion, and the vast increase in the circulating medium, produced by the treasures of Delphi and Macedonia.—Estimate of the power of Athens during the period of Demosthenes and Æschines. It seems that, unfortunately, the eloquence and political acuteness of the former was not accompanied with sufficient talents for negotiation; the latter, perhaps, did not place confidence enough in his country, while Demosthenes placed too much. In spite of the public indolence and effeminacy, Athens was enabled still to support her rank as a maritime power, the navy of Philip not flourishing equally with theirs.

† A. G. BECKER, *Demosthenes as a Statesman and an Orator*. An historico-critical introduction to his works: 1815. A very useful work, both as a history and as an introduction to the state speeches of Demosthenes.

14. New conquests of Philip in Illyria and Thrace. The Adriatic sea and the Danube appear to have been the boundaries of his empire in this quarter. But the views of the Macedonian

meets with
a rebuff
from Pho-
cion;

FIRST
PERIOD.

king were directed less against the Thracians, than against the Grecian settlements on the Hellespont; for a war with which a pretext was supplied by the attack of the Athenian Diopithes. The siege, however, of Perinthus and Byzantium, is frustrated by Phocion, to the great vexation of Philip: this rouses not only the Athenians, but also the Persians, from their lethargy.

but obtains
the com-
mand in the
second sa-
cred war;

15. Policy of Philip after this rebuff.—At the very time that, engaged in the war against the barbarians on the Danube, he appears to have wholly lost sight of the affairs of Greece, his agents redouble their activity. Æschines, richly paid for his services, proposes in the Amphictyonic council, that, to punish the sacrilegious insults of the Locrians to the Delphian oracle, he should be elected leader of the Greeks in this new sacred war. Following his usual maxim, Philip suffers himself to be intreated.

and falls
upon
Greece.

16. Second irruption of Philip into Greece. His appropriation of the important frontier place of Elatea soon demonstrated that, this time, he was not contending merely for the honour of Apollo.—Alliance between Athens and Thebes brought about by Demosthenes.—But the defeat of Chæroneia decided in the same year upon the dependency of Greece. Philip found it now no difficult matter to act the magnanimous man towards Athens.

Philip's
designs
against
Persia.

17. Preparations for the execution of his plan against Persia, not as his own undertaking, but as a national war of the Hellenes against the barbarians. Thus, while Philip, by obtaining from the Amphictyons the appointment of general-

issimo of Greece against the Persians, corroborated in an *honourable* way the dependency of the country, the splendour of the expedition flattered the nation at whose expense it was to be conducted. Did not Philip's private views extend much farther?

FIRST
PERIOD.

18. The internal government of Macedonia, under so skilful and successful a conqueror, must necessarily have been absolute. No pretender would dare to rise up against such a ruler, and the body guard (*δορυφόροι*) established by him at the beginning of his reign, and taken from the Macedonian nobility, contributed much to keep up the proper understanding between the prince and the great men. The court became a military staff, while the nation, from a people of pastors, was converted into a people of warriors.—Philip was unhappy only in his own family; but the blame is not to be attributed to him if he could not agree with Olympias.

Internal
state of
Macedonia
under Phi-
lip.

19. Philip murdered by Pausanias at Ægæ, while celebrating the marriage of his daughter; probably at the instigation of the Persians.

Philip mur-
dered,
B. C. 336.

20. The reign of ALEXANDER the GREAT, in the eyes of the historical inquirer, derives its great interest, not only from the extent, but from the duration, of the revolution which he wrought in the world. To appreciate properly the prince, who died precisely at the moment that he was about to pursue his mighty projects, is a matter of no small difficulty; but it is totally repugnant to reason to suppose that the pupil of Aristotle was nothing more than a wild conqueror, unguided by any plan.

Alexander :
336—323.

FIRST
PERIOD.

ST. CROIX, *Examen critique des anciens historiens d'Alexandre-le-grand*, 2nd. edition, *considérablement augmentée*. Paris, 1804, 4to. The new edition of this, the principal work on the history of Alexander, and important in more respects than one, contains more than the title implies.

Disturbances at the Macedonian court.

21. Violent jars at the court, in the conquered countries, and in Greece, after the death of Philip. Great as his power appeared to be, the maintenance of it depended solely on the first display of character in his successor. Alexander showed himself worthy to inherit the sceptre by his victorious expedition against the Thracians; (to whom, and more especially to his alliance with the Agrians, he was indebted subsequently for his light horse;) and by the example which he exhibited to Greece in the treatment of Thebes.

Alexander generalissimo of Greece.

22. Appointment of Alexander in the assembly at Corinth to be generalissimo of the Greeks. With him that remained but as a title which his father, no doubt, would have used for a quite different purpose.—Developement of his plan of attack upon Persia.—The want of a navy, soon experienced by Alexander, would probably have frustrated his whole project, had not Memnon's counterplan of an inroad into Macedonia been thwarted by the celerity of the Macedonian king.

Battle of the Granicus.

23. Passage over the Hellespont, and commencement of the war. The tranquillity of the kingdom and of Greece appeared to be secured, Antipater being at the helm of affairs.—The victory on the Granicus opened to Alexander the way into Asia Minor; but the death of Memnon, which soon after ensued, was perhaps a greater gain than that of a battle.

24. The victory of Issus, won over Darius in person, appears to have first roused in Alexander the idea of completely overthrowing the Persian throne, as was proved by the rejection of Darius's offers of peace : unless we suppose that the definitive plans of the conqueror depended solely on the course of events. Yet Alexander must have been pretty-certain of his future victory, since he permitted Darius to escape, in order first, by a seven months' siege of Tyre, to 332. make himself master of the sea ; and after the consequent and unopposed occupation of Egypt, to build Alexandria, and erect to himself a monument more lasting than all victories.

FIRST
PERIOD.
Battle of
Issus,
B. C. 333.

Although, perhaps, Alexandria subsequently may have surpassed the expectations of the founder, yet the selection of the site, favourable only for navigation and commerce, shows that an eye was originally had to those objects.

25. Invasion of inner Asia, facilitated by the silent submission of the ruling tribes, and by the state of cultivation in which the country was found. On the plains of Arbela the Macedonian tactics were completely triumphant. It might now be said that the throne of Persia was overturned ; and the unexpectedly easy capture of Babylon, Susa and Persepolis, was surely of more importance for the moment than the pursuit of the flying king.

Decisive
battle of
ARBELA.
Oct. 1, 331.

Insurrection of the Greeks quelled by Antipater ; Alexander himself falls in with the malecontent envoys to Darius in the interior of Asia.

26. The subjection of the north-eastern provinces of the Persian empire would perhaps have been attended with the greatest difficulties, had not the astonishing activity of the conqueror

Persia
wholly sub-
jected.

FIRST
PERIOD.
B. C. 330.

329.

crushed at their birth the projects of the treacherous Bessus, who, after the assassination of Darius, wished to erect a separate kingdom in Bactria. The Jaxartes was now the northern boundary of the Macedonian monarchy, as it had hitherto been that of the Persian. Besides, the possession of the rich trading lands, Bactria and Sogdiana, was in itself an object of vast importance.

During this expedition occurs the execution of Philotas and his father Parmenio, both, probably, guiltless of the conspiracy laid to their charge, 330. After the death of Darius, Alexander met with frequent opponents in his own army: the majority of the troops fancying that that event precluded the necessity of any further exertions. Cautious as Alexander was in his treatment of the Macedonian nobles, we may discern, not however by the mere example of Clitus, how difficult they found it to banish from their memory the former relations in which they stood to their kings.

Alexander
marches
against
India.
328—326.

27. Alexander's expedition against India had, no doubt, its origin in that propensity to romantic enterprise which constituted a main feature of his character. Yet it was in the natural order of things that the close view of Persian splendour, the conquest of such wealthy countries, and the desire of prosecuting his vast commercial designs, should gradually mature in the mind of the Macedonian king the plan of subjecting that country which men pictured to him as the golden land of Asia. To this likewise the scantiness of geographic information must have greatly contributed; if he pressed forward to the eastern seas, the circle of his dominion would, it was supposed, be complete.—Certainly it would appear that Alexander lacked a sufficient knowledge of the country when he entered upon this campaign.

Alexander's invasion lighted on northern India, or the Panjab; in those days a populous and highly cultivated country; now the seat of the Seiks and Marattas; and then, as now, inhabited by warlike races. He crossed the Indus at Taxila (Attock,) passed the Hydaspes (Behut or Chelum,) and, availing himself of the quarrels between the Indian princes, defeated the king, Porus. He then proceeded across the Acesines (Jenab) and Hydraotes (Rauvée). The eastern verge reached in this expedition was the river Hyphasis (Beyah;) here, having already proceeded half way to the Ganges, the conqueror was, by a mutiny in his army, compelled to wheel back. His return was made athwart the country of the Malli (Multan) as far as the Hydaspes, when the majority of his troops took ship, and were floated along that stream into the Acesines, and from thence into the Indus, which they followed down to its embouchure.

RENNEL, *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*. London, 1793, (3d. edit.) and

ST. CROIX, *Examen*, etc. (see p. 214.) furnish all the necessary historical and geographical explications relative to the Persian and Indian campaigns of Alexander.

28. Although Alexander was obliged to give up the project of conquering India, yet the connexion between Europe and the east, which has subsisted from that time, was a work of his hands. At the same time that the communication on land was secured by the establishment of various settlements, the communication on sea was to be opened by the voyage of his admiral, Nearchus, from the Indus to the Euphrates. In the mean while Alexander himself proceeded to Persis and Babylon athwart the desert, and yet unexplored, provinces of Gedrosia and Carmania.

Consequences
of this ex-
pedition.

Nearchus's voyage (which we are acquainted with from his own log-book, preserved in Arrian's *India*) lasted from the beginning of October, 326, to the end of February, 325; the same time nearly was occupied in the almost incredible land march of the king.

VINCENT, *The Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates*. London, 1797, 4to. Exhibiting the most learned researches; illustrated likewise with excellent charts.

FIRST
PERIOD.
Alexander's
policy in the
conquered
countries:

29. After the abandonment of India, the circuit of Alexander's conquests was precisely the same as that of the Persian empire had been. His farther projects were probably directed against Arabia alone. Easily as these conquests had been won, equally difficult it seemed to maintain them; for Macedonia, exhausted by continual levies of men, could not furnish efficient garrisons. This complicated problem Alexander solved by protecting the conquered from oppression, by showing proper respect to their religion; by leaving the civil government in the hands of the native rulers who had hitherto possessed it; and by confiding to Macedonians the command of the garrisons left in the chief places, and in the newly established colonies. To alter as little as possible in the internal organization of countries was his fundamental principle.

his views.

30. Proportionate to the simplicity of Alexander's plans for the commencement was apparent the immensity of those forecast for the sequel. Babylon was to be the head city of his empire, and consequently of the world. The union of the east and the west was to be brought about through the amalgamation of the dominant races, by marriage, by education, and, more than all, by the ties of commerce, the importance of which even the far ruder conquerors, in Asia itself, soon began to appreciate. In nothing probably is the superiority of his genius more brilliantly displayed, than in his exaltation above national prejudice, particularly when we consider that none of his Macedonians could in this respect approach near to him. To refuse him that quality is impossible, whatever the judgment formed on his general character.

31. Sudden death by fever of Alexander, at Babylon; under the circumstances of the time, the greatest loss mankind could experience. From the Indus to the Nile the world had been shivered; and where was the architect that could gather up the scattered fragments and restore the edifice?

FIRST
PERIOD.
Death of
Alexander,
April 21,
B. C. 323.

Alexander's disorder may be easily accounted for by the hardships he had undergone, and by the impure air to which he exposed himself in cleaning out the canals about Babylon. He certainly was not poisoned; and in the charge of immoderate drunkenness brought against him we must take into account the manners of the Macedonian and Persian courts. Was it not the same with Peter the great? In estimating his moral character we must bear in mind the natural vehemence of his passions, ever inclined to the most rapid transitions; nor should we forget the unavoidable influence of constant success upon men.

SECOND PERIOD.

History of the Macedonian monarchy, from the death of Alexander the Great to the battle of Ipsus, B. C. 323—301³.

SOURCES. The grand author here is Diodorus, books xviii—xx. who, for this period, compiled mostly from a contemporary historian, Hieronymus of Cardia. He is accompanied by Plutarch in the Lives of Eumenes, Demetrius, and Phocion; and by Justin, xiii. etc. Of Arrian's history of Alexander's successors nothing, unfortunately, remains but a few fragments in Photius.

† MANNERT, *History of Alexander's successors*. Nuremberg, 1787. Composed with the usual judgment and learning of that author.

1. The very first measure adopted after the death of Alexander contained within itself the seeds of all the dire revolutions that subsequently

Measures
adopted at
the death of
Alexander.

³ To facilitate the obtaining of a general view, the history of the European events is resumed below, under the head of the history of Macedonia Proper.

SECOND
PERIOD.

ensued. Not only were the jealousy and ambition of the nobles aroused, but even the interference of the military was exemplified in the most terrific manner. And although the idea of the supremacy of the royal family was cast off but by degrees, yet the dreadfully disturbed state in which that family stood, rendered its fall unavoidable.

State of the royal family at the death of Alexander. He left a wife pregnant, Roxana, who at the end of three months brought into the world the real heir to the sceptre, Alexander; he left likewise an illegitimate son, Hercules; a bastard half-brother, Arrhidæus; his mother, the haughty and cruel Olympias, and a sister, Cleopatra, both widows; the artful Eurydice, (daughter to Cyane, one of Philip's sisters,) subsequently married to the king, Arrhidæus; and Thessalonica, Philip's daughter, afterward united to Cassander of Macedonia.

Arrhidæus
and Alex-
ander joint
kings:

2. The blood-thirsty Arrhidæus, under the name of Philip, and the infant Alexander were at last proclaimed kings, the *regency* in the mean time being placed in the hands of Perdiccas, Leonnatus and Meleager; the last of whom was quickly cut off at the instigation of Perdiccas. Meanwhile Antipater, with whom Craterus had been conjoined as civil ruler, had the management of affairs in Europe.

PERDICCAS
regent.

ANTIPATER
in Europe.

Violent re-
volutions.

3. The sequel of the history becomes naturally that of satraps, who fell out among themselves, all being ambitious to rule, none willing to obey. Twenty-two years elapsed ere any massy edifice arose out of the ruins of the Macedonian monarchy. In few periods of history are the revolutions of affairs so violent, in few periods, therefore, is it so difficult to unravel the maze of events. For this purpose the most appropriate

division is that into *three* periods: the first extending to the death of Perdiccas, 321: the second to the death of Eumenes, 315: the third to the defeat and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus, 301.

SECOND
PERIOD.

4. First grant of the provinces made by Perdiccas. The vanity of this man seems to have induced him to select the office of regent, in order that no separate province might fall to his share; he placed his whole reliance on the command of the royal army, although it had already given so many examples of an intention to order, not to be ordered.

Division of
the empire.
B.C. 323.

In this division, Ptolemey, son of Lagus, received Egypt; Leonnatus, Mysia; Antigonus, Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia; Lysimachus, Macedonian Thrace; Antipater and Craterus remained in possession of Macedonia.—The foreigner, Eumenes, would hardly have received Cappadocia, although yet to be conquered, had Perdiccas been able to dispense with his services. The rest of the provinces either were not newly divided, or else their governors are undeserving of consideration.

5. The first acts of Perdiccas's government showed the little dependence he could place in the obedience of men who hitherto had been his colleagues. The general insurrection among the mercenaries who had been settled by Alexander in upper Asia, and now wished to return to their homes, was, no doubt, quelled by Python's destruction of the rebels; but it was not Python's fault that he did not make himself independent master of the theatre of mutiny.

First acts of
Perdiccas.

Insurrec-
tion in up-
per Asia.

6. The greater, hence, was the contumacy exhibited by Leonnatus and Antigonus, when they received orders to put Eumenes in possession of his province. Antigonus was too haughty to

Disobedi-
ence of An-
tigonus and
Leonnatus.

SECOND
PERIOD.

obey; and Leonnatus preferred going over into Europe to marry Cleopatra; there, however, he almost immediately met with his death in the Lamie war (see below⁴). Perdicas was, consequently, obliged to undertake himself the expedition with the royal army; he succeeded by the defeat of Ariarathes.

B. C. 322.

Perdicas
wishes to
marry Cleo-
patra, but is
frustrated;

7. Ambitious views of Perdicas, who, in order to ascend the throne by a marriage with Cleopatra, repudiates Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater. Cleopatra actually came over to Asia; but Perdicas, being obliged, at the request of the army, to marry Eurydice, Philip's niece, after the murder of her mother Cyane, to the king Arrhidæus, found her a troublesome rival and opponent in the government.

seeks to ruin
Antigonus
and Ptole-
mey.

8. Attempts of Perdicas to overthrow Antigonus and Ptolemey, by accusing them before the army. Antigonus passes over to Antipater in Macedonia; and gives rise to the league between Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemey, against Perdicas and Eumenes.

War be-
tween the
two parties,
321.

9. Commencement and termination of the first war in the same year. Perdicas himself marches against Egypt, leaving Eumenes his friend to command in Asia Minor: meanwhile Antipater and Craterus fall upon Asia; the former advances towards Syria against Perdicas; the latter is defeated and slain by Eumenes. Before the arrival, however, of Antipater, Perdicas, after repeated and vain attempts to cross the Nile, falls a victim to the insurrection of his own troops.

Eumenes
sole master
in Asia
Minor.

Thus three of the principal personages, Perdica

⁴ Book IV. period iii. parag. 2.

erus, Leonnatus, were already removed from the theatre of action; and the victorious Eumenes, now master of Asia Minor, had to maintain, unaided, the struggle against the confederates.

2. Second period, from the death of Perdica-
to that of Eumenes.—Python and Arrhidæus
resigning the regency, it is assumed by
Antipater.—New division of the provinces at Tris-
disus in Syria. Seleucus receives Babylon;
Antigonus is promised, besides his former posses-
sions, all those of the out-lawed Eumenes.

SECOND
PERIOD.

B.C. 320—
315.

ANTIPATER
regent.

320.

1. War of Antigonus with Eumenes. The latter, defeated by treachery, shuts himself up in the mountain fastness of Nora, there to await more favourable times; and Antigonus remains master of Asia Minor: in the mean time Ptolemy prepares to take possession of Syria and Phœnicia.

2. Death of the regent Antipater, in the same year (320;) he bequeaths the regency to his friend, Antiged Polysperchon, to the exclusion of his own son Cassander. Antigonus now begins to unfold his ambitious plans; he endeavours vainly to win over Eumenes, who deceives him in the negotiation, and seizes the opportunity of leaving his mountain fastness.

Antipater
dies.
320.

POLYSPER-
CHON re-
gent.

319.

3. Eumenes's plan to strengthen himself in Asia; as he is on the way he receives news of his being appointed generalissimo of the royal troops. What better man could Polysperchon have selected for the office than he who in his conduct towards Antigonus exhibited so striking an example of attachment to the royal house?
4. Exertions of Eumenes to maintain him-

SECOND
PERIOD.
B. C. 318.

self in lower Asia, ineffectual, the naval victory won by Antigonus over the royal fleet, commanded by Clitus, bereaving him of the empire of the sea. He bursts into upper Asia; where, in the spring, he unites with the satraps, who had taken arms against the potent Seleucus of Babylon.

317.

15. Antigonus following up the royal general, upper Asia becomes the theatre of war. Victorious as was at first the stand made by Eumenes, neither valour nor talent were of any avail against the insolence of the royal troops, and the jealousy of the other commanders. Attacked in winter quarters by Antigonus, he was, after the battle, delivered into the hands of his enemy by the mutinous Argyraspidæ, who had lost their baggage: he was put to death, and in him the king's family lost its only loyal supporter.

315.

16. Great changes had also taken place in the royal family. Her enemy Antipater being deceased, Olympias, invited by Polysperchon, who wished to strengthen himself against Cassander, had returned from Epirus, and put to death Arrhidæus together with his wife, Eurydice: in the year following she was besieged in Pydna by Cassander, and being obliged to surrender, was in her turn executed; meanwhile Cassander held Roxana and the young king in his own power.

317.

315.

315—301.

Ascendant
of Antigo-
nus.

17. Third period, from the death of Eumenes to that of Antigonus.—The rout of Eumenes seemed to have established for ever the power of Antigonus in Asia; still animated with the fire of youth, though full of years, he saw himself revived in his son Demetrius, fond of boisterous

dry, but gallant and talented.—Even Seleucus thought it time to consult his safety by flying from Babylon into Egypt.

SECOND
PERIOD.
B.C. 315.

8. Changes introduced by Antigonus in the other provinces; return into Asia Minor, where his presence seemed to be highly necessary, by reason of the aggrandisement of Ptolemy in Syria and Phœnicia, of the Macedonian Cassander in Europe, of Lysimachus in Mysia, and the Carian Cassander in Asia Minor.—He repossesses himself of Phœnicia, a country of the first importance for the construction of his fleet.

Siege of Tyre, 314—315: it lasts fourteen months; proof that the city was certainly not razed by Alexander.

9. The fugitive Seleucus founds a league against Antigonus and Demetrius, between Ptolemy, the two Cassanders and Lysimachus. Antigonus frustrates their combination, him driving out the Carian Cassander, his son marching against Ptolemy.

Victory won by Ptolemy on Demetrius at Gaza, 312; after which Seleucus marches back to Babylon, and, although subsequently followed up by Demetrius, permanently maintains his position in upper Asia.—On the other hand, Ptolemy, at the approach of Antigonus with the main body, surrenders back to him Syria and Phœnicia, 312.

10. A general peace concluded between Antigonus and his enemies, Seleucus only excepted, 311.

Peace
concluded,
311.

In which upper Asia is to be again wrested. The first article, that each shall retain what he possesses, demonstrates pretty evidently that the treaty was dictated solely by Antigonus; the second, that the Greek cities shall be free, was pregnant with the seeds of a new war, ever and anon ready to burst forth; the third, that the young Alex-

SECOND
PERIOD.

ander, as soon as he shall have attained his majority, shall be raised to the throne, was probably the death warrant of the hapless prince, who, that same year, was, together with his mother, slaughtered by Cassander.—Shortly after, at the instigation of Antigonius, Cleopatra was massacred, in order that Ptolemy might be thwarted in his object, dependent on a matrimonial connexion with that princess.

Disputes on
the libera-
tion of
Greece.

21. Even the execution of the articles must have given rise to hostilities; Ptolemey wishing to force Antigonius, and he, on his side, to compel Cassander, to withdraw the garrisons from the Grecian towns; a condition which neither party felt inclined to fulfil. Grecian freedom was now but an empty idea; but this is not the solitary example furnished by history of political ideas working the greatest stir long after they have survived their own existence; for then they become excellent tools in the hands of artful designers.

Expedition of Demetrius to liberate Athens, 308. That day when he announced freedom to the Athenians, must have been the happiest day in his life! Few portions of history present such a scope for the contemplation of human nature as the two-fold sojourn of Demetrius at Athens.

22. The growing power of Ptolemey on the sea, and the capture of Cyprus, determines Antigonius to an open rupture: he commands his son to drive him out of the island.

Naval victory of Demetrius off Cyprus, 307, perhaps the greatest and bloodiest in all history; attended, nevertheless, with results as little decisive to the general question as those which generally accompany naval battles. The assumption of the kingly title, first by the conqueror, afterward by the conquered, and in consequence by all the rest, was but a mere formality now that the royal family was extirpated.

23. The conquerors having failed in their project of subduing Egypt, the wealthy republic of the Rhodians must now, as an ally of that country, furnish a victim to their fury. But though in the renowned siege of the capital, Demetrius earned his title of Poliorcetes, the noble defence of the Rhodians afforded an illustrious example of the power of discipline combined to well-guided patriotism. The invitation of the Athenians came seasonably to Demetrius; he raised the blockade and proceeded to complete the liberation of Greece, the necessity of which became day by day more pressing.

SECOND

PERIOD.

Rhodes
besieged.

B. C. 305.

24. Second sojourn of Demetrius in Greece. The expulsion of Cassander's garrisons from the Grecian cities, and more particularly from those in Peloponnesus; the appointment of Demetrius as generalissimo of Greece, for the conquest of Macedonia and Thrace; prove not only to Cassander, but also to the other princes, that their common interest loudly called upon them to set themselves against the over-powerful Antigonus.

Demetrius
again visits
Greece.

25. Third grand league of Cassander, Ptolemy and Seleucus, against Antigonus and his son; knit by Cassander. How easily, even after the violent irruption of Lysimachus into Asia Minor, might not Antigonus have dispersed the gathering thunder clouds, had not that overweening man placed too great a reliance on his own good fortune!

League
against
Antigonus,
302.

26. Junction of Seleucus of Babylon and Lysimachus, in Phrygia. Antigonus, to concentrate his forces, calls back from Greece his son, who had pushed on to the border of Macedo-

Junction of
Seleucus
and Lysi-
machus,
301.

SECOND
PERIOD.

nia. The heedful Ptolemey, on the other hand, scarce dares penetrate into Syria; a false rumour, that Lysimachus has been defeated, drives him back, full of alarm, into Egypt.

Battle of
Ipsus,
B. C. 301.

27. Great and decisive battle fought at Ipsus of Phrygia, in the spring of 301. It not only cost Antigonus his life, but annihilated his empire, which the two conquerors divided among themselves, without taking any account of the absent confederates. Asia Minor, as far as mount Taurus, fell to the share of Lysimachus; all the rest remained in the hands of Seleucus; Plisthenes alone, Cassander's brother, received Cilicia.—Demetrius, by the help of his navy, made good his escape into Greece.

Domestic
organiza-
tion of the
monarchy.

28. The almost unbroken series of wars which had raged from the time of Alexander, must have precluded the possibility of much being effected with respect to the domestic organization. It appears to have been nearly, if not wholly, military. Yet were the numerous devastations in some measure compensated by the erection of new cities, in which these princes vied with one another, impelled partly by vanity to immortalize their names, partly by policy to support their dominion, most of the new settlements being military colonies. Nevertheless this was but a sorry reparation for the manifold oppressions to which the natives were exposed by the practice of quartering the army upon them. The spread of the Greek tongue and civility bereaved them of all national distinction; their languages sinking into mere provincial dialects. Alexander's monarchy affords a striking example of the little that can

be expected from a forced amalgamation of races, when the price of that amalgamation is the obliteration of national character in the individuals.

SECOND
PERIOD.

HEYNE, *Opum regni Macedonici auctarum, attritarum et eversarum, causæ probabiles*; in *Opusc.* t. iv. This collection contains several other treatises on Grecian and Macedonian history, which cannot be all separately enumerated.

THIRD PERIOD.

History of the separate kingdoms and states which arose out of the dismemberment of the Macedonian Monarchy after the battle of Ipsus.

I. HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN EMPIRE UNDER THE SELEUCIDÆ, B. C. 312—64.

SOURCES. Neither for the history of the Syrian, nor for that of the Egyptian and Macedonian kingdoms, has any grand writer been preserved down to our time. The fragments of the lost books of Diodorus, and, from the time that these kingdoms became allies of Rome, those of Polybius, several narratives of Livy, the *Syriaca* of Appian, and a few of Plutarch's *Lives*, are the principal sources; too frequently we are obliged to rely upon the excerpta of Justin. With respect to the history of the Seleucidæ, in consequence of the relations and wars between those princes and the Jews, the *Antiquities* of Josephus and the book of *Maccabees* are of importance. Besides the sources above quoted, the many coins that have been preserved of those kings, afford much information respecting their genealogy and chronology.

Of modern publications on the subject, the principal work is VAILLANT, *Imperium Seleucidarum sive historia regum Syriæ*, 1681, 4to. The inquiry is principally grounded on the coins; as is the case with,

FROELICH, *Annales rerum et regum Syriæ*. Viennæ, 1754.

THIRD
PERIOD.
Seleucus
Nicator,

1. The kingdom of the Seleucidæ was first founded in upper Asia by Seleucus Nicator. It was an extensive empire, but formed out of various countries conquered and collected; hence its internal stability depended solely on the power of the rulers. That power fell with the founder; and the transfer of the seat of empire from the banks of the Tigris to Syria, entangled the Seleucidæ in all the bickerings of the western world, and promoted the insurrection of the upper provinces. The history of this kingdom divides itself into the periods anterior and posterior to the war with Rome; although long before the breaking out of that war the preparatory steps toward a decline and fall had already been taken.

Seleucus received, 321, Babylon as his province; but after the defeat of Eumenes was forced to take to flight, 315, in order to avoid subjection to the conqueror Antigonus. But his moderate rule had rendered him so popular, that after the victory won by Ptolemy over Demetrius at Gaza, 312, he durst with a feeble retinue return to Babylon. In this year commences the kingdom of the Seleucidæ.

founds the
kingdom of
the Seleu-
cidæ,

B. C. 313.

311.

2. In the ten following years, and while Antigonus was busied in Asia Minor, Seleucus laid the foundation of his rule over all upper Asia, with a facility to which the detestation excited by the rigid government of Antigonus mainly contributed. After his victory over Nicanor of Media, all in that quarter declared spontaneously for him; and the unsuccessful expedition of Demetrius taught Antigonus himself, that it would no longer be prudent to assert his claims. So early as 307, Seleucus was in possession of all the countries between the Euphrates, Indus, and Oxus,

3. Great campaign in India undertaken by Seleucus against king Sandrocottus. He reached as far as the Ganges, and the close alliance he framed with the Indian sovereign lasted long after, and was kept up by embassies. The great number of elephants which he brought back with him was not the greatest advantage accruing from this expedition; the intercourse with the east seems to have been permanently reestablished.

THIRD
PERIOD.
Campaign
against
India,
B. C. 305.

4. By the battle of Ipsus Seleucus added to his dominions the greater part of the territories of Antigonus;—Syria, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Armenia. Unfortunately Syria now became the head province, notwithstanding Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia were left in the hands of Ptolemy. How widely different would have been the course of historic events, had the seat of empire remained at Seleucia on the Tigris, and the Euphrates continued to be the western boundary of the Seleucidæ!

Seat of go-
vernment
removed
into Syria,
301.

5. Reciprocal relations between the empires now combined to frame a political system, in which continued exertions to maintain a balance of power by alliance and marriage are plainly discernible.

Connexion between Seleucus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, by the marriage of the former with the beauteous Stratonice, daughter of the latter; made with the view of counterbalancing the connexion between Ptolemy and Lysimachus; Lysimachus and his son Agathocles having united in matrimony with two daughters of Ptolemy.

6. The period of tranquillity, eighteen years, enjoyed by Asia after the battle of Ipsus, proves that Seleucus was one of the few followers of Alexander that had any genius for the arts of

Long peace
in Asia,
301—283.

THIRD
PERIOD.

peace. He either founded or embellished a vast number of cities, the most important of which were the capital, Antiochia in Syria, and the two Seleucias, one on the Tigris, the other on the Orontes: the flourishing prosperity of several of these places was the result of the restoration of the eastern trade; new roads for which appear to have been opened at this period on the main streams of Asia, and the Oxus more particularly.

The empire
divided into
satrapies,

7. The home department of his empire was organized into satrapies, of which there were seventy-two. But Alexander's maxim, "to give the satrapies to natives," was wholly forgotten by his followers; and the Seleucidæ were not long before they experienced the evil consequences of swerving from that practice. Under such a prince as Seleucus scarce any kingdom could of itself fall to pieces, but the king himself paved the way for the dismemberment of his states, by ceding upper Asia, together with his consort Stratonice, to his son Antiochus; not, however, without the previous approbation of the army.

B. C. 293.

Conquest of
Asia Minor,

282.

281.

8. War with Lysimachus, kindled by ancient jealousy, and now fomented by family feud. The battle of Curopedion cost Lysimachus his throne and life; Asia Minor became a part of the Syrian realm. But as Seleucus was crossing over to Europe, to add Macedonia to his dominions, he fell by the hand of an assassin, Ptolemey Ceraunus, and with him the splendour of his kingdom was quenched.

Antiochus
Soter,
281—262.

9. The reign of his son, Antiochus I. surnamed Soter, seemed not unprosperous, inasmuch as the empire preserved its former extension; but in

any state founded upon conquest, the failure of new attempts at an increase of territory is a sure token of approaching ruin; and this was the case here.—In such a state, the more immediately all depends on the person of the ruler, the more rapid and sensible are the effects of degeneration in a family like that of the Seleucidæ.

The late conquests of his father in Asia Minor entangled Antiochus in new wars, although, by the marriage of his stepdaughter Phila with Antigonus Gonatas, he ceded his claims on Macedonia, 277.—Fruitless attempt at subjecting Bithynia, 279; the king of that country, Nicomedes, calls in the Gauls, who had invaded Macedonia, and gives them a settlement in Galatia, 277, where they keep their footing, even after the victory won over them by Antiochus, 275, and by their participation in the wars, as mercenaries, become of importance.—The newly risen state of Pergamus likewise thrives, at the expense of the Syrian empire, despite of Antiochus's attack, 263; and the inroad into Egypt, for the purpose of supporting the rebel Magas, is foreclosed by Ptolemey II. 264.

10. Antiochus II. surnamed *Θεός*. During his reign the sway was in the hands of women; and the diseased state of the interior of the empire became palpable by the secession of various eastern provinces, out of which arose the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms. The boundless luxury of the court hurried on the decline of the ruling family; having once begun to sink, it could not without difficulty have retrieved its virtue independently of the matrimonial connexions now constantly formed from within itself.

Antiochus
Theus,
B.C. 262—
247.

Rise of the
Parthian
and Bac-
trian king-
doms.

Ascendancy of his stepsister and wife Laodice, and of his sister Apame, relict of Magas; the latter involves him in war with Ptolemey II. to vindicate her claims upon Cyrene; it ends by Antiochus's marriage with Berenice, daughter of Ptolemey, and his repudiation of Laodice, 260—252. Having, after the death of Ptolemey, 247, put away Berenice and taken back

THIRD
PERIOD.

Laodice, the latter, distrusting his motives, cuts him off by poison.—The secession of Parthia happened in consequence of the expulsion of the Macedonian governor by Arsaces, founder of the house of the Arsacidæ: that of Bactria, on the other hand, was brought about by the Macedonian governor himself, Theodotus, who asserted his independence. (Concerning these two kingdoms see below⁵.) At the first, the former of these kingdoms comprised but a part of Parthia; the latter only Bactria and, perhaps, Sogdiana; both, however, were soon enlarged at the expense of the Seleucidæ.

Seleucus
Callinicus,
B. C. 247—
227.

11. Seleucus II. surnamed Callinicus. His reign, twenty years in duration, is one unbroken string of wars; in which the kingdom, already enfeebled, was subverted, partly by the struggle with Egypt, caused by the hatred between Laodice and Berenice; partly by the jealousy of his brother Antiochus Hierax; partly by vain attempts at recovering the upper provinces.

Assassination of Berenice, and most unfortunate war thereby kindled with Ptolemey Euergetes of Egypt, 247—244. The assistance which Seleucus obtains from his junior brother, Antiochus, governor of Asia Minor, induces Ptolemey to a truce, 243; but another war ensues between the two brothers, in which Antiochus, at first conqueror, is soon conquered, 243—240; and during this contest, Eumenes of Pergamus greatly increases his territory at the expense of Syria, 242.—His first campaign against Arsaces, who had formed an alliance with the Bactrian king, ended in a defeat, 238, regarded by the Parthians as the real epoch of the foundation of their kingdom. In the second campaign, 236, he himself fell into the hands of the Parthians, and remained prisoner till the day of his death, 227.

Seleucus
Ceraunus,
227.

224.

12. His elder son Seleucus III. surnamed Ceraunus, on the point of taking the field against Attalus king of Pergamus, was removed by poison. But the dominion of the Seleucidæ was reestablished in Asia Minor by his mother's fra-

⁵ Book IV. Per. iii. Dist. Kingdoms iv. parag. 4, 5.

ternal nephew, Achæus; and the crown insured to the younger brother Antiochus, governor of Babylon.

THIRD
PERIOD.

13. The long reign of Antiochus III. surnamed the Great, is not only the most eventful in Syrian history, but likewise marks an epoch, by the relations now commencing between Syria and Rome.—To earn the title of *great* was a task of no extreme difficulty in such a line of princes.

Antiochus
the great,
B.C. 224—
187.

14. Great power of Hermias the Carian, who soon became so formidable to the young monarch, that he was obliged to rid himself of him by murder. The great stand made by the brothers, Molo and Alexander, satraps of Media and Persia, who probably had an understanding with Hermias, threatened the king with the loss of all the upper provinces: it ended in the defeat of Molo, Hermias being at last no longer able to hinder the king from marching against him in 220. person.

Insurrec-
tion in Me-
dia and Per-
sia.
218.

15. The intrigues of Hermias excited Achæus to rebellion in Asia Minor; but Antiochus held it more important, first to execute the plan he had previously traced, of ejecting the Ptolemeys from their possessions in Syria; great as the success which at first attended this expedition, it was completely traversed by the battle of Raphia. —Combining with Attalus of Pergamus, Antiochus then defeated Achæus, who, being shut up in the citadel of Sardes, was treacherously delivered into his hands.

War with
the Ptole-
meys; in-
surrection
of Asia
Minor, 220.

219.

217.

216.

16. Great campaign of Antiochus in the upper provinces; its cause the abstraction of Media by Arsaces III.—Hostilities ended in a compact, by

Campaign
in the up-
per pro-
vinces,
214—205.

THIRD
PERIOD.

which Antiochus agreed formally to cede Parthia and Hyrcania; Arsaces, on his side, pledging himself to furnish assistance against Bactria.—But the war with Bactria was also followed by a peace, leaving the king, Euthydemus, in possession of his crown and dominions.—The expedition now undertaken by Antiochus, in company with Demetrius of Bactriana, against India, extended, probably, far up the country, and was attended with important consequences to Bactriana. (See below, history of Bactria⁶.) The result of these great expeditions was the establishment of the supremacy of the Seleucidæ in upper Asia; those countries excepted which had been solemnly ceded.

In the return over Arachotus and Carmania, where he wintered, he likewise undertook a naval expedition on the Persian gulf: here Gerrha, in possession of its freedom, appears a flourishing emporium.

War with
Egypt,
203.

17. Resumption of the plan against Egypt, after the death of Ptolemey Philopator; and alliance with Philip of Macedonia, then carrying on war in Asia. To be sure, Antiochus attained his end, the expulsion of the Ptolemeys from their possessions in Syria, Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; but then, his success brought him in contact with Rome, an event of decisive importance to himself and successors.

203—198.

War with
Rome.

18. Growth of the disputes between the king and Rome, proceeding from the conquest of the major part of Asia Minor and the Thracian Chersonesus; meanwhile Hannibal had taken refuge at the Syrian court, and the probability daily

197.

⁶ Book IV. Per. iii. Dist. Kingdoms iv. parag. 5.

ased of a great league being formed against e, although that power, after conquering Car-
 , 201, and Macedonia, 197, had succeeded in
 ing over Greece even, by the magic spell of
 m. But Antiochus ruined all: instead of
 ving Hannibal's advice, and attacking the
 ans on their own ground, he stood on the
 sive, and suffered himself to be invaded by
 in Asia. The routs of Magnesia and Sipy-
 ompelled him to accede to such conditions
 lome chose to dictate, and the power of 190.
 yrian empire was for ever quashed.

THIRD
 PERIOD.
 B. C. 195.

the history of this war, see below in the Roman history ⁷.

. The conditions of the peace were: 1st. An-
 us shall evacuate Asia Minor; (Asia cis
 um.) 2nd. He shall pay down 15,000 talents;
 o Eumenes of Pergamus 400. 3rd. Hannibal
 some others shall be delivered up, and the
 s younger son, Antiochus, shall be given as
 ostage.—The loss of the surrendered coun-
 was a consequence of this peace, less dis-
 ntageous to the Syrian kings, than the use
 e of it by the conquerors. By adding the
 est part of the ceded territories to those of
 kings of Pergamus, the Romans raised up
 gside of their enemy a rival, whom they might
 eir own will use as a political engine against
 —Rome took care likewise that the stipulated
 should be paid by instalments in twelve
 s, to the end that Syria might be kept in a
 anent state of dependence.

Conditions
 of peace
 with Rome.

. Murder of the king, 187. The reign of his
 son, Seleucus IV. surnamed Philopator, 187—176.

Seleucus
 Philopator,
 187—176.

⁷ Book V. Per. ii. parag. 10, 11.

THIRD
PERIOD.
B. C. 180.

was a period of tranquillity ; peace arising from infirmness.—Though once he unsheathed his sword in defence of Pharnaces king of Pontus, against Eumenes, the terror of Rome soon compelled him to restore it to the scabbard. He exchanged his son for his brother at Rome ; but fell a victim to the ambition of his minister Heliodorus.

Antiochus
Epiphanes,
176—164.

21. Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes. Educated at Rome, he sought to combine the popularity of a Roman with the ostentation of a Syrian ; and thereby became an object of universal hatred and contempt. Our information respecting his history is too meagre to allow of our deciding whether most of the evil reported of him, in the Jewish accounts especially, may not be exaggerated. At any rate, amid all his faults, we may still discern in him the germs of good qualities.

His war
against
Egypt,
172—168 :

22. War with Egypt, springing out of Ptolemy Philometor's claims upon Cœle-Syria and Palæstine. Obscure as many parts are in the history of this war, yet it is evident that success attended the arms of Antiochus, and that he would have become master of Egypt, had not Rome interfered.

The pretext for war, on the Egyptian side, was, that those provinces had by Antiochus III. been promised as a dowry to Cleopatra, sister of Antiochus and mother to Philometor : Antiochus Epiphanes, on his side, laid claim to the regency of Egypt, as uncle to the young king, who, however, was soon declared of age.—Opening of the war, and victory won by Antiochus at Pelusium, 171 ; in consequence of which Cyprus is betrayed into his hands.—Pelusium is fortified with the view of insuring the possession of Cœle-Syria, and of facilitating an irruption into Egypt.—Another victory, 170, and Egypt subdued as far as Alexandria. Philometor driven by a sedition out of Alex-

andria, where his brother Physcon is seated on the throne, falls into the hands of Antiochus, who concludes with him a most advantageous peace, and takes his part against Physcon.—Hence siege is laid to Alexandria, 169; attended with no success. At the return of Antiochus, Philometor, concluding a separate peace with his brother, according to which both are to rule in conjunction, is admitted into Alexandria. Antiochus, bitterly enraged, now declares war against both brothers, who crave assistance from Rome: he once more penetrates into Egypt, 168; where the Roman ambassador, Popilius, assumes so lofty a tone, that the Syrian king is glad to purchase peace by the surrender of Cyprus and Pelusium.

23. The religious intolerance of Epiphanes, ^{his intolerance:} exhibited in his wish to introduce the Grecian worship everywhere among the subjects of his empire, is the more remarkable, as such instances are less frequent in those times. This intolerance seems to have taken its rise, not only in the love of pomp, but in the cupidity of the king, who by that means was enabled to appropriate to himself the treasures of the temples, no longer inviolate, since the defeat of his father by Rome. The sedition of the Jews under the Maccabees wrought ^{B.C. 167.} thereby, laid the foundation of the subsequent independence of that people, and contributed not a little to the debilitation of the Syrian kingdom.

See below the history of the Jews^o. The deep decay of the finances of the Seleucidæ, palpable from the latter days of Antiochus the great, may be accounted for well enough, by the falling off of the revenue, accompanied with increased luxury in the kings, (an instance of which is furnished by the festivals celebrated by Antiochus Epiphanes at Daphne, 166,) and by the vast presents constantly sent to Rome, in addition to the tribute, for the purpose of keeping up a party there.

24. His expedition also into upper Asia, Persis especially, where great disorders were likewise

^o Book IV. Per. iv. Small states Jews, parag. 6.

THIRD
PERIOD.his death,
B. C. 165.Antiochus
Eupator.

164—161.

excited by the introduction of the Grecian religion, had for its object not only the recovery of Armenia, but the rifling of the temples. He died, however, on the way to Babylon.

25. The real heir to the throne, Demetrius, being detained at Rome as an hostage, Epiphanes was first succeeded by his son Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, a lad nine years old. During his short reign, the quarrels of his guardians, the despotism of the Romans, the protracted war with the Jews, and the commencing conquests of the Parthians, reduced the kingdom of the Seleucidæ to a powerless state.

Contest between Lysias, regent in the absence of Epiphanes, and Philip, appointed by the king, previously to his death, guardian of the young prince, terminated by the defeat of Philip, 162.—Eupator's right acknowledged at Rome, in order that the guardianship might fall into the hands of the senate, who administer the government by means of a commission sent over into Syria, and completely deprive the king of all power of resistance. Octavius, head of the commission, put to death, probably at the instigation of Lysias.—While the Parthian king, Mithridates I. is prosecuting his conquests at the expense of the Syrian kingdom in upper Asia, Demetrius secretly escapes out of Rome, takes possession of the throne, and causes Eupator and Lysias to be put to death, 161.

Demetrius
Soter,
161—150.

26. Demetrius I. surnamed Soter. He succeeded in getting himself acknowledged at Rome, on which all now depended. The attempts to extend his power, by supporting Orofernes, the pretender to the crown of Cappadocia, against the king Ariarathes, had their origin partly in family relations, but still more, as was the case with almost all political transactions of those times, in bribery. By this act he only drew upon himself the enmity of the kings of Egypt and

Pergamus; as, moreover, he was hated by his subjects on account of his intemperance, the chances of success were greatly in favour of the shameful usurpation of Alexander Balas, excited by Heraclidas the expelled governor of Babylon, and backed by the yet more shameful conduct of the Roman senate, who acknowledged his title to the throne. The Syrian kingdom was now fallen so low, that both king and usurper were obliged to court the favour of the Jews under Jonathan, hitherto regarded as rebels. In the second battle Demetrius lost his life.

THIRD
PERIOD.

B. C. 154.

27. The usurper Alexander Balas endeavoured to confirm his power by a marriage with Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemey Philometor: but he soon evinced himself more unworthy even than his predecessor of wielding the sceptre. While he abandoned the government to his favourite, the detested Ammonius, the eldest remaining son of Demetrius succeeds not only in raising a party against the usurper, but even in prevailing on Philometor to side with himself, and give him in marriage Cleopatra, whom he takes away from Balas. The consequence of this alliance with Egypt was the defeat and downfall of Balas, although it cost Philometor his life.

Alexander
Balas,
150—145.

145.

The account, that Philometor wished to conquer for himself Syria, must probably be understood as meaning that he formed design of recovering the ancient Egyptian possessions, Cœle-ria and Phœnicia. Otherwise, wherefore should he have given his daughter to a second pretender to the throne.

28. Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator, 145—11, and for the second time, 130—126. The dis-

Demetrius
Nicator,
145—126.

THIRD
PERIOD.

- banding of his father's mercenaries having roused the indignation of the army, the cruelty of his favourite Lasthenes kindled in the capital a sedition, which could not be quenched without the assistance of the Jews, under their high priest and military chieftain, Jonathan.—While affairs were in this posture, Diodotus, subsequently called Tryphon, a dependant of Balas, excited an insurrection, by bringing forward Antiochus, the latter usurper's son, and even, with the help of Jonathan, seating him on the throne in Antiochia: soon after, Tryphon, having by treachery got Jonathan in his power, rid himself of him by murder, and assumed himself the diadem.—Notwithstanding Demetrius kept his footing only in a part of Syria, he was enabled to obey the call of the Grecian colonists in Upper Asia, and support them against the Parthians, who had overrun the country as far as the Euphrates.—Although victorious in the commencement of the contest, he was soon after taken by the Parthians, and remained, treated meanwhile as a king, ten years a prisoner.
29. In order to maintain herself against Tryphon, Cleopatra marries the younger, and better brother, Antiochus of Sida: he being at first in alliance with the Jews,—who, however, were soon after subdued—defeats and overthrows Tryphon. Now lord and master of Syria, he undertakes a campaign against the Parthians; at the commencement, befriended by the subjects of the Parthians, he is successful, but soon afterwards is attacked in winter quarters by those very friends, and cut to pieces, together with all his army.

B. C. 145.

144.

143.

142.

140—130.

Antiochus
of Sida.
139.

132.

131.

If the accounts of the wanton licentiousness of his army are not exaggerations, they furnish the clearest proof of the military despotism of those times. By continued pillage and extortion, the wealth of the countries had been collected in the hands of the soldiers; and the condition of Syria must have been pretty nearly the same as that of Egypt under the Mameluc sultans.

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PERIOD.

30. Meanwhile Demetrius II. having escaped from prison, again seated himself on the throne. But being now still more overweening than before, and meddling in the Egyptian affairs, Ptolemy Physcon set up against him a rival, Alexander Zebina, a supposititious son of Alexander Balas; by him he was defeated and lost his life. 126.

Demetrius
Nicator re-
stored.
B. C. 130
—126.

The Parthian king Phraates II. had, at first, liberated Demetrius, to whom his sister Rhodogune was united by marriage, in order that, appearing in Syria, he might necessitate Antiochus to retreat. Antiochus having fallen, Phraates would fain have retained Demetrius, but he escaped.

31. The ensuing history of the Seleucidæ is a picture of civil wars, family feuds, and deeds of horror, such that its counterpart can scarce be met with. The utmost verge of the empire was now the Euphrates; all Upper Asia acknowledging the dominion of the Parthians. The Jews, moreover, having completely vindicated their independence, the kingdom was consequently confined to Syria and Phœnicia. So thoroughly decayed was the state, that even the Romans—whether because there was no longer anything to plunder, or because they conceived it more prudent to suffer the Seleucidæ to wear themselves out mutually—do not seem to have taken any account of it, until, at the conclusion of the last war with Mithridates, they thought proper formally to annex it to their empire as a province.

Syria be-
comes a
Roman
province,
64.

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PERIOD.

War between Alexander Zebina and the ambitious relict of Demetrius, Cleopatra, who with her own hand murders her eldest son Seleucus, B. C. 125, for pretending to the crown, which she now gave to her younger son, Antiochus Grypus; the new king, however, soon saw himself necessitated to secure his own life by the murder of his mother, 122; Alexander Zebina having been the year before, 123, defeated and put to death. After a peaceful rule of eight years, 122—114, Antiochus Grypus is involved in war with his half-brother Antiochus Cyzicenus, son of Cleopatra by Antiochus Sidetes: it ends, 111, by a partition of territory. But the war between the brothers soon burst out anew, and just as this hapless kingdom seemed about to crumble into pieces, Grypus was murdered, 97.—Seleucus, the eldest of his five sons, having beaten and slain Cyzicenus, 96, the eldest son of the latter, Antiochus Eusebes, prosecuted the war against the sons of Grypus; Eusebes being at last defeated, 90, the surviving sons of Grypus fell to war among themselves, and the struggle continued until the Syrians, weary of bloodshed, did what long before they ought to have done, and made over the sovereign power to Tigranes the king of Armenia, 85. Yet Eusebes's widow, Selene, retained Ptolemais till 70; her elder son Antiochus Asiaticus, at the time that, in the Mithridatic war, Tigranes was beaten by Lucullus, took possession of some provinces in Syria, 68; these were wrested from him after the total defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, when Tigranes was obliged to give up his claim, and Syria became a province of the Roman empire, 64. Antiochus Asiaticus died 58; his brother Seleucus Cybiosactes, having married Berenice, was raised to the Egyptian throne, but murdered by her command 57; and thus the family of the Seleucids was completely swept away.

II. *History of the Egyptian kingdom under the Ptolemys.* 323—30.

The sources of this history are for the most part the same as in the foregoing section; see above, p. 229; but unfortunately still scantier; for in the first place, less information can here be derived from the Jewish writers; secondly, as on the coins struck under the Ptolemys no continuous series of time is marked, but only the respective years of the king's reign in which they were manufactured, they are by no means such safeguards to the

chronology as those of the Seleucidæ. With respect to some few events, important illustrations are supplied by inscriptions.

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PERIOD.

By moderns, the history of the Ptolemeys has been composed under a form almost merely chronological, and by no means treated in the spirit of which it is deserving.

VAILLANT, *Historia Ptolemæorum*, fol. Amstelodam. 1701. Illustration by the aid of coins.

CHAMPOLION FIGEAC, *Annales des Lagides, ou Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte, successeurs d'Alexandre le Grand*. Paris, 1819, 2 vols. The subjects of inquiry have by no means been exhausted by this treatise, honoured with a prize from the Académie des Inscriptions: see

J. SAINT-MARTIN, *Examen Critique de l'ouvrage de M. CH. F. intitulé Annales des Lagides*. Paris, 1820.

LETRONNE, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte pendant la domination des Grecs et des Romains, tirées des inscriptions Grecques et Latines, relatives à la chronologie, à l'état des arts aux usages civils et religieux de ce pays*. Paris, 1828. It cannot be denied that the author has thrown a much clearer light on the subjects mentioned in his title.

Flourishing
state of
Egypt
under the
Ptolemeys.

1. Egypt, under the Ptolemeys, fulfilled, and perhaps more than fulfilled, the designs projected by Alexander; it became not only a mighty kingdom, but likewise the centre of trade and of science. The history of Egypt, however, confines itself, almost solely, to that of the new capital, Alexandria; the foundation of that city produced, imperceptibly, a change in the national character, which never could have been wrought by main force. In the enjoyment of civil welfare and religious freedom, the nation sunk into a state of political drowsiness, such as could scarce have been expected in a people who so often rose up against the Persians.

Alexandria, originally, was no doubt a military colony; it was not long, however, before it became a point of conflux to nations, such as was the case scarce with any other town of that day.

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PERIOD.

The inhabitants were divided into three classes; *Alexandrines*, (that is to say, Greeks and Macedonians who had settled in the place; next to these the Jews were, it appears, the most numerous,) *Egyptians*, and *Mercenaries* in the king's service. The Greeks and Macedonians divided into wards (*φυλας*), constituted the citizens; they were under municipal government; the others, such as the Jews, formed bodies corporate according to their respective nations. The more important, in so many respects, that Alexandria is for history, the more it is to be regretted that the accounts respecting it, which have reached us, are so far from satisfactory!—Concerning the topography of ancient Alexandria:

BONAMY, *Description de la ville d'Alexandrie* in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript.* vol. ix. Compare:

† J. L. F. MANSO, *Letters upon ancient Alexandria*, in his *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. i.

Ptolemy
Soter,
B. C. 323
—284.

321.

307.

2. Ptolemy I. surnamed Soter, the son of Lagus, received Egypt for his share, at the first division after the death of Alexander. Aware of the value of his lot, he was the only one of Alexander's successors that had the moderation not to aim at grasping all. No doubt he was, by the ambition of the other princes, entangled in their quarrels, but his conduct was so cautious, that Egypt itself was never endangered. Twice attacked in that country, first by Perdiccas, afterwards by Antigonus and Demetrius, he availed himself successfully of his advantageous position, and moreover, in this period, added to his dominion several countries without Africa, such as Phœnicia, Judæa, Cœle-Syria, Cyprus.

The possession of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, by reason of their forests, was of indispensable necessity to Egypt as a naval power. They frequently changed masters. First occupation, 320, soon after the rout of Perdiccas by Ptolemy's general Nicanor, who takes the Syrian satrap Laomedon prisoner, esta-

blishes his footing in the whole of Syria, and places garrisons in the Phœnician cities. In 314 it is again lost to Antigonus, after his return out of Upper Asia, and the siege of Tyre. Ptolemy having defeated Demetrius at Gaza, 312, repossesses himself of those countries, but immediately evacuates them on the appearance of Antigonus, to whom they are ceded by the peace of 311. At the conclusion of the last grand league against Antigonus, 303, Ptolemy once more occupies them: alarmed at a false report, that Antigonus has won a victory, he wheels back and returns into Egypt, leaving nevertheless troops in the cities. After the battle of Ipsus, 301, those countries are made over to him, and abide in the hands of the Ptolemys until they are lost in the second invasion of Antiochus the Great, 203.

Cyprus, (see p. 153.) like most other islands, acknowledges submission to those who possessed the sovereignty of the sea, and therefore could not escape the dominion of the Ptolemys. It was taken possession of by Ptolemy as early as 313. Still the separate cities of the islands preserved their kings, among whom Nicocles of Paphos, having entered into a secret league with Antigonus, was put to death, 310. After the great seafight, 307, Cyprus fell into the hands of Antigonus and Demetrius. Subsequently to the battle of Ipsus, 301, it remained indeed at first in the power of Demetrius; but that prince being gone over to Macedonia, Ptolemy, 294, seized an opportunity of recovering it, and the island from that time remained under the dominion of Egypt. Availing themselves of their naval strength, the Egyptian kings frequently lorded it over the coasts of Asia-Anterior, especially Cilicia, Caria and Pamphylia, which appear to have absolutely formed a part of their territory under the second Ptolemy. It is, however, hardly possible to define accurately what were their real possessions in those quarters.

3. Ptolemy likewise extended his territory within Africa, by the capture of Cyrene; in consequence of which the neighbouring Libya, or countries betwixt Cyrene and Egypt, fell under his dominion. It is probable, also, that even in his reign the frontier of the Egyptian empire was advanced into Æthiopia; but for this assertion we have no positive authority.

Cyrene and
Libya an-
nexed to
Egypt.

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PERIOD.

The fall of Cyrene was brought about by domestic broils: at the time the place was besieged by Thimbron, a portion of the exiled nobles fled to Ptolemy; the Egyptian prince commanded that they should be reestablished by his general Ophellas, who took possession of the town itself, 321. An insurrection in 312 was quelled by Agis, Ptolemy's general: nevertheless it would appear that Ophellas had almost established his independence, when, by the treachery of Agathocles, with whom he had entered into a league against Carthage, he perished, 308. Cyrene now was seized by Ptolemy; he gave it to his son Magas, who ruled over it fifty years.

Constitu-
tion of the
govern-
ment.

4. With respect to the internal government of Egypt, our information is far from complete. The division into districts or nomes was continued; subject perhaps, in some cases, to alterations. The power of the king appears to have been unlimited; the extreme provinces were administered by governors, appointed by the sovereign; similar officers were probably placed at the head of the various districts of Egypt itself; but hardly any document relative to the home department of that country has reached our time. High public situations, at least in the capital, appear exclusively reserved to Macedonians or Greeks; no Egyptian is ever mentioned as holding office.

There were four magistrates at Alexandria: the *Exegetes*, whose office was to provide for the wants of the city; the Chief Judge; the *Hypomnematographus*—(Registrar of the archives?)—and the *Στρατηγὸς νυκτερινός*, no doubt, the supervisor of the police, whose duty it was to watch over the peace of the city at nights. We have the express testimony of Strabo, that these offices, which continued under the Romans, had already existed under the kings; whether their establishment can be dated back so far as the time of Ptolemy I. is a question that does not admit of a solution.—The number of the districts or nomes appears to have been augmented; probably with a political view, in order that no governor or monarch should be invested with power too extensive.

5. Be that as it may, it is an undoubted fact, that the ancient national constitution and administration were not entirely obliterated. Together with the religion, remained the priest-caste; lessened though their influence was, it did not wholly cease. A certain sort of worship was, by appointed priests, paid to the kings both in their lifetime and after their death. Memphis, though not the usual residence of royalty, remained the capital of the kingdom; there the ceremony of coronation was performed; and its temple of Phtha was still the head sanctuary. How great was the influence of the Egyptian religion on the Grecians? It were difficult to say which nation borrowed more from the other.

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PERIOD.

There religion
and priest-
caste re-
main.

6. Not only the circumstance of Egypt, now first rearing herself above universal ruin, but also the permanent tranquillity she enjoyed during nearly thirty years, the duration of the reign of Ptolemey I.—at a time when the rest of the world was wracked by the constant storm of war,—must have contributed to her prosperity under so mild and beneficent a ruler. But Ptolemey was certainly the only prince who could have taken advantage of these conjunctures. A warrior no doubt, but accomplished to the highest degree, and himself a writer, he had a genius for all the arts of peace, and fostered them with the open-handed liberality of a king: amid the splendid blaze which shone around the throne on festive occasions, he led the life of a private man.

Character
of the first
of the Pto-
lemeys.

Increase of Alexandria by the importation of vast numbers of colonists; Jews especially.—Erection of several superb buildings, more particularly the Serapeum.—Measures taken for the ex-

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PERIOD.

tension of trade and navigation.—The twofold harbour on the sea, and on the lake Mareotis.—The Pharos built.

Literature
encouraged.

7. More than all by his love for science was Ptolemey distinguished from among his contemporaries. The idea of founding the Museum sprung out of the necessities of the age, and was suited to the monarchic form of government now prevalent. Where, in those days of destruction and revolution, could the sciences have found a shelter, if not under the protection of a prince? But under Ptolemey they found more than a shelter, they found a rallying point. Here accordingly the exact sciences were perfected: and although the critic's art which now grew up could not form a Homer or a Sophocles, should *we*, had it not been for the Alexandrines, be at present able to read Homer or Sophocles?

Foundation of the Museum, (Society of the learned,) and of the first library in Bruchium, (afterwards removed to the Serapeum;) probably under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus. A proper estimation of the services rendered by the Museum is yet wanting: what academy in modern Europe, however, has done so much?

HEYNE, *De genio Sæculi Ptolemæorum*. In *Opuscul. t. i.*

MATTER, *Essai historique sur l'école d'Alexandrie*, 1820.

Ptolemey
Philadelphus,
B. C. 284
—246.

8. Ptolemey II. surnamed Philadelphus, son of Berenice, the second wife of his father, had ascended the throne in 286 as joint king. His reign, which lasted thirty-eight years, was more peaceful even than that of his predecessor, whose spirit seemed to inspire him in everything, save that he was not a warrior: but, by that very reason, the arts of peace, trade, and science were promoted with the greater energy. In his reign Egypt was the first power by sea, and one of the

first by land, in the world ; and even though the account given by Theocritus of its thirty-three thousand cities, may be regarded as the exaggeration of a poet, it is very certain that Egypt was in those days the most flourishing country in existence.

The commerce of Alexandria was divided into three main branches: 1. The land-trade over Asia and Africa. 2. The sea-trade on the Mediterranean. 3. The sea-trade on the Arabian gulf, and Indian ocean.—With regard to the land-trade of Asia, especially that of India carried on by caravans, Alexandria was obliged to share it with various cities and countries: since one of its chief roads ran across the Oxus, and Caspian, to the Black sea; while the caravans, travelling through Syria and Mesopotamia, spread for the most part among the seaports of Phœnicia and Asia Minor.—The trade over Africa extended far west, and still farther south. Westward it was secured by the close connexion between Cyrene and Alexandria; and no doubt followed the same roads as in earlier times: of far greater importance was that carried on with the southern countries, or Æthiopia, into the interior of which they now penetrated, principally for the purpose of procuring elephants.—The navigation on the Arabian and Indian seas had likewise for its immediate object the Æthiopian trade, rather than the Indian.—The measures taken by Ptolemey with this view, consisted partly in the building of harbours (Berenice, Myos Hormos) on the Arabian gulf; partly in establishing a caravan from Berenice to Coptos on the Nile, down whose stream the goods were floated; for the canal connecting the Red sea with the Nile, although, perhaps, completed at this time, was nevertheless but little used. The grand deposit for these wares was the lesser harbour of Alexandria, united by a canal with the lake Mareotis, which in its turn communicated by another canal with the Nile; so that the account we receive of the lesser harbour being more thronged and full of bustle than the larger one, has nothing to surprise us withal.—In respect of the trade on the Mediterranean, it was shared between Alexandria, Rhodes, Corinth, and Carthage. The chief manufactories appear to have been those of cotton stuffs, established in or near the temples.

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PERIOD.

The best inquiry into the trade of Alexandria will be found in J. C. D. DE SCHMIDT, *Opuscula, res maxime Aegyptiorum illustrantia*, 1765, 8vo.

Revenue of
Egypt.

9. It would be important to know what, in a state like Egypt, was the system of imposts, which under Philadelphus produced 14,800 silver talents, (4 millions sterling,) without taking into account the toll paid in grain. In the extreme provinces, such as Palæstine, the taxes were annually farmed to the highest bidder, a mode of levy attended with great oppression to the people. The case appears to have been very different with regard to Egypt itself; the customs however constituted the main branch of the revenue.

Events of
the reign of
Philadel-
phus.

10. The wars waged by Ptolemey II. were limited to those against Antiochus II. of Syria, and Magas of Cyrene, half-brother to the Egyptian king; the former sprung out of the latter. Luckily for Egypt, Ptolemey II. was of a weak constitution, and, by his state of health, was incapacitated from heading the armies in person.—Under his reign the first foundation was, by reciprocal embassies, laid for the new relations with Rome, subsequently so important for Egyptian history.

Magas had, after the defeat of Ophellas, received Cyrene, 308; he married Apame, daughter of Antiochus I.; he raised the standard of rebellion, and was about to invade Egypt itself, 266, when an insurrection in Marmarica compelled him to turn back upon his heels; he contrived, notwithstanding, to prevail upon his wife's father to undertake an expedition against Egypt, which Philadelphus frustrated, 264. To terminate this contest, Magas was about to unite his daughter Berenice with the eldest son of Philadelphus; Apame, wishing to thwart the negotiation, fled over to her brother, Antiochus II. whom, after her husband's death, 258, she excited to a war against Egypt, which closed in 252.—The embassy to Rome originated in the victory

won by the Romans over Pyrrhus, 273; it was answered by another from the Romans, 272.

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PERIOD.

11. The son inherited from his father all but the simplicity of domestic life: under the reign of Philadelphus, the court was first thrown open to that effeminate luxury, which soon wrought the destruction of the Ptolemys as it had done that of the Seleucidæ; at the same time was introduced the pernicious practice of intermarriages in the same family, by which the royal blood was more foully contaminated here even than in Syria. Philadelphus set the first example, by repudiating Arsinoë the daughter of Lysimachus, and then marrying his own sister, likewise named Arsinoë; this princess preserved her influence over the king as long as she lived, although she did not bring him an heir, but adopted the children of her predecessor.

Character
of Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus.

12. Ptolemy III. surnamed Evergetes. Under him, Egypt, from being merely mercantile, assumed the character of a conquering state; despite however of his warlike spirit, he was not uninspired with that genius for the arts of peace peculiar to his family. His conquests were directed partly against Asia in the war with Seleucus II. and extended as far as the borders of Bactria; partly, it is probable, although doubtful, against the interior of Æthiopia, and the western coast of Arabia. Countries so wealthy, and with which commerce had brought men so well acquainted, could hardly escape the arms of a power so formidable as Egypt; yet she seems to have made scarce any other use of this extension of territory, than to insure the road of trade.

Ptolemy
Evergetes,
B. C. 246
—221.

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PERIOD.

The main source for the history of Ptolemy Evergetes, is the inscription on the monument of Adulis in Æthiopia, erected by that prince: it contains a chronological list of his conquests, a copy of which has been preserved to us by Cosmas Indicopleustes; modern researches have, however, shown the probability of its consisting of two inscriptions, one belonging to Evergetes, the other having reference to a later king of Abyssinia.—According to this monument, Ptolemy inherited from his father, besides Egypt itself, Libya, that is to say, western Africa as far as Cyrene, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Lycia, Caria, Cyprus, and the Cyclades.—War with Seleucus Callinicus caused by the murder of Berenice (see above, p. 234.); lasted until the ten years' truce, 246—240. During this war, conquest of the whole of Syria as far as the Euphrates, and of most of the maritime countries in Asia Minor, from Cilicia to the Hellespont, an easy prey to a naval power. Whether the conquest of the countries beyond the Euphrates, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persis, Susiana, and Media as far as Bactria, was effected in these four years, or not till between 240 and 230, is a question that cannot be determined to a certainty. If we may judge by the booty brought back, although Ptolemy did leave governors in Cilicia and Babylonia, this campaign was rather a foray than a regular expedition for conquest; it was facilitated by the posture of affairs in Asia; Seleucus being at war with his brother Antiochus Hierax; the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms being also in the state of infant feebleness.

The southern conquests, so far as they may be referred to Evergetes, were effected during the last period of his reign, in a separate war. They comprised: 1st. The greatest part of modern Abyssinia,—the catalogue of nations commencing with those of Abyssinia, it necessarily follows that Nubia had already been subjected to Egypt.—The mountain range along the Arabic gulf, the plain of Sennaar as far as modern Darfur, the lofty chain of mountains, southward of, and above, the heads of the Nile. All these conquests were won by the king in person; and from those distant lands to Egypt, commercial roads were opened. 2nd. The western coast of Arabia, from Albus Pagus to the southern point of Arabia Felix, conquered by his generals and admirals: here, likewise, the security of the commercial roads was established.

Monumentum Adulitanum, published in FABRICIUS, *B. Græc.* t. ii.

MONTFAUCON, *Coll. Patr.* t. i. and in CHISHULL, *Antiquit. Asiaticæ*.

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The assertion that the monument bears two different inscriptions is made by SALT, in the narrative of his travels contained in *Travels of Lord Valentia*.

13. Egypt was singularly blessed in having three great kings, whose reigns filled one whole century. A change now ensued; but that change was brought about by the natural course of events; in fact, it could scarce be expected that the court should remain untainted by such luxury as must have prevailed in a city, which was the main seat of trade, and the deposit of the treasures of the richest countries.

14. Ptolemey IV. surnamed Philopator. A Ptolemey Philopator, 221—204. debauchee and tyrant, who, during the greater portion of his reign, remained under the tutelage of the crafty Sosibius, and, after the decease of that individual, fell into the yet more infamous hands of Agathocles and his sister Agathoclea. Philopator being contemporary with Antiochus the Great, the dangers that threatened Egypt under such a reign seemed to be doubled; they were, however, averted by the ill-deserved victory of Raphia (see above, p. 235).

15. Agathocles and his sister would fain have taken into their own hands the guardianship over his son Ptolemey V. surnamed Epiphanes, a child but five years old; but the people having risen up and made a terrific example of them, the office of guardian was confided to the younger Sosibius and to Tlepolemus. The giddy prodigality of the former soon gave rise to a feud between him and his colleague, who was at least

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B. C. 203. cunning enough to keep up appearances. Mean-
while the critical posture in which the kingdom
was placed, by the attack of the euleagued kings
of Syria and Macedonia, compelled the nation to
defer the regency to Rome and the senate, who
202. had hitherto carefully cherished an amicable con-
nexion into Egypt.

The regency regulated by M. Lepidus, 201, who handed over the administration to Aristomenes of Acarnania. The sequel will show how decidedly important for Egypt was this step. By the war of the Romans against Philip, and their differences with Antiochus, Egypt was, no doubt, for the present extricated from her embarrassment; but nevertheless in 198 she lost her Syrian possessions, notwithstanding Antiochus III. had promised to give them as a dowry to Cleopatra, the affianced bride, and subsequently the consort, of the young king of Egypt.

To the year 197, and about this time, is referred the celebrated inscription of Rosetta, set up by the priest-caste as a tribute of gratitude for past benefits, after the consecration of the king at Memphis upon his coming of age: a monument important alike for palæography, and for the knowledge of the Egyptian administration.

AMEILHON, *Eclaircissemens sur l'inscription Grecque du monument trouvé à Rosette*. Paris, 1803.

HEYNE, *Commentatio de inscriptione Græca ex Aegypto Laodinum apportata*, in the *Commentat. Societ. Gotting.* vol. xv.

Character
of Epipha-
nes.

184.

183.

16. The hopes conceived of Epiphanes, were grievously disappointed as he grew to manhood. His guardian Aristomenes fell a victim to his tyranny; nay, his cruelty exasperated even the patient Egyptians to rise up, although the insurrections were stilled by his counsellor and general Polycrates. His reign is comprised in the time when Rome quashed the power of Macedonia and Syria; and notwithstanding the close alliance between Epiphanes and Antiochus III. the Romans succeeded in holding the Egyptian king

in their dependence; in the twenty-eighth year of his age he was, however, brought to the grave by intemperance and debauchery.

17. Of his two sons, the elder, a child five years old, was his immediate successor; this prince, Ptolemey VI. surnamed Philometor, ascended the throne under the guardianship of his mother Cleopatra, who fulfilled the duties of her office to the satisfaction of all, until 173. But, after her death, the regency having fallen into the hands of Eulæus an eunuch, and of Lenæus, these individuals, asserting their claims to Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, engaged with Antiochus Epiphanes in the war so detrimental to Egypt, until Rome commanded that peace should be made.

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Ptolemey
Philometor,
B. C. 181
—145.

Antiochus, after the victory of Pelusium, B. C. 171, and the treacherous surrender of Cyprus, having possessed himself of Egypt as far as Alexandria, a faction arose in the city; Philometor was expelled, and his younger brother Physcon seated on the throne, 170.—The exile Philometor fell into the power of Antiochus, who compelled the fugitive to sign a separate peace, highly injurious to the interest of Egypt. The articles were not, however, ratified; Philometor secretly entering into an agreement with his brother that they should both rule in common, 169. Antiochus having in consequence again made an inroad into Egypt, the two kings addressed themselves for assistance to the Achæans and to the Romans: the latter forthwith despatched an embassy to Antiochus, commanding him to evacuate the territory of their allies, which happened accordingly, 168.

18. In the contest, which now quickly ensued between the two brothers, the younger was driven out and sought a refuge at Rome; when a partition of the kingdom between the princes was determined upon: the senate, however, after due consideration, refused to confirm the decision, so that the disputes between the two kings were re-

Disputes
between the
sons of
Epiphanes.

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kindled, and protracted until the younger fell into the power of the elder.

In the first division, 164, Philometor received Egypt and Cyprus; and the infamous Physcon had for his share Cyrene and Libya. But, during his stay at Rome, Physcon got Cyprus promised to him, contrary to everything like justice; Philometor refusing to give up that portion of his share, and Cyrene having risen up against its king, Physcon ran the risk of losing the whole of his dominions. In the war which, supported by Rome, he waged against his brother, Physcon fell, 159, into the hands of Philometor, who not only forgave him, but, leaving him in possession of Cyrene and Libya, added some cities in the place of Cyprus, and promised him his daughter in marriage.

Philometor
interferes
in the affairs
of Syria.

19. During the last period of his reign, Philometor was almost exclusively busied with the Syrian affairs. He backed Alexander Balas against Demetrius, and even gave him his daughter Cleopatra. Nevertheless, he afterwards passed over to the side of Demetrius, seated him on the throne, and married to him his daughter, who had been divorced from Balas. But in the battle in which Balas was overthrown, the Egyptian king also was wounded to death. He was one of the best princes in the dynasty of the Ptolemies, at least when contrasted with his brother.

B. C. 145.

Ptolemey
Physcon,
145—117.

20. His younger brother, Ptolemey VIII. surnamed Physcon, and likewise Evergetes II. a monster both in the moral and physical acceptation, who had hitherto been king of Cyrene, now possessed himself of the throne of Egypt by marrying his predecessor's widow and sister, Cleopatra, whom, having murdered her son, he afterwards put away, supplying her place with her daughter of the same name. This prince, accordingly, once more united the divided kingdom;

but at the same time that he was purchasing the sanction of Rome by vile adulation, he maintained himself at Alexandria by the means of military law, which soon converted the city into a desert, and necessitated him to attract foreign colonists by large promises. Another bloody massacre, however, produced an insurrection in the town, which compelled the king to flee to Cyprus, the Alexandrines, meanwhile, raising to the throne his repudiated wife Cleopatra. Physcon, nevertheless, with the assistance of his mercenaries, recovered the sceptre, and wielded it to the day of his death. B. C. 130.

That a prince of this character should, notwithstanding, be a friend to science, and himself an author, must ever be regarded as a singular phenomenon; yet his exaction of manuscripts, his treatment of the learned, whole crowds of whom he expelled, betray the despot.

21. His widow, the younger Cleopatra, to gratify the Alexandrines, was obliged to place on the throne the elder of her two sons, Ptolemey IX. surnamed Lathurus, who was living in a sort of banishment in Cyprus: to the younger, Ptolemey Alexander Ptolemey
Lathurus,
116—81. 116. who was her favourite, she accordingly gave the island of Cyprus. But Lathurus not choosing to follow her behests in everything, she compelled him to exchange Egypt for Cyprus, and gave the former to her younger son. But neither was the new king able to brook the tyranny of his mother: as she threatened even his life, he saw no other means of escape than to anticipate her design; 89. but failing in his project, he was obliged to take to flight, and, after a vain attempt to recover the throne, perished. The Alexandrines then re- 88.

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PERIOD.

instated in the government his elder brother Lathurus, who ruled till the year 81, possessing both Egypt and Cyprus.

Revolt and three years' siege of Thebes in Upper Egypt, still in those days one of the most wealthy cities, but after its capture almost levelled to the earth; about 86.—Complete separation of Cyrenaica from Egypt: this province had been by Physcon bequeathed as a separate branch-state to his bastard, Apion, 117; that prince, after a tranquil reign, bequeathed it, in his turn, to the Romans, 96, who at first left it in possession of its independence.

Obscure
period of
the history.
B. C. 81—
66.

22. Lathurus left one daughter born in wedlock, Berenice, and two bastard sons, Ptolemey of Cyprus and Ptolemey Auletes. Beside the above, there was living a lawful son of Alexander I. of the same name as his father, and now residing at Rome with the dictator Sulla. The following history is encumbered with clouds, which, amid the contradiction of accounts, cannot be entirely dispelled. Generally speaking, Egypt was now a shittlecock in the hands of powerful individuals at Rome, who regarded it but as a financial speculation whether they actually supported a pretender to the Egyptian crown, or fed him with vain hope. All now saw that Egypt was a ripe harvest; but they could not yet agree by whom that harvest should be reaped.

The first successor of Lathurus in Egypt was his legitimate daughter Cleopatra Berenice, 81: at the end of six months, however, Sulla, then dictator at Rome, sent his client Alexander II. to Egypt, 80; that prince married Berenice, and with her ascended the throne. After nineteen days Alexander murdered his consort, and, according to Appian, was himself about the same time cut off by the Alexandrines, on account of his tyranny. We afterwards hear, notwithstanding, of a king Alexander, who reigned until 73. or, according to others, until 66; when, being driven

out of Egypt, he fled to Tyre, and called upon the Romans for that aid, which, probably through Cæsar's intercession, would have been granted, had not the suppliant soon after died at the place of his refuge. He is said to have bequeathed by will his kingdom to Rome; and although the senate did not accept the legacy, it does not appear to have formally rejected the offer; in consequence of which, frequent attempts were made at Rome for effecting the occupation.—Either, therefore, Appian's account must be false, and this person was the same Alexander II. or he was some other person bearing that name, and belonging to the royal house.—Be this as it may, since the death of Lathurus the kingdom had been dismembered: one of his bastard sons, Ptolemey, had received Cyprus, but that island was taken from him, 57, and converted into a Roman province: the other, Ptolemey Auletes, seems to have kept his footing either in a part of Egypt, or in Cyrene, and was probably the cause of Alexander's expulsion, at whose decease he ascended the throne; although the Syrian queen Selene, sister to Lathurus, asserted at Rome her son's claims, as legitimate heir to the throne of Egypt. With Cæsar's assistance, Auletes, however, succeeded in obtaining the formal acknowledgment of his right at Rome, 59. But the measures taken by Rome, with regard to Cyprus, gave rise to a sedition at Alexandria, 57, in consequence of which Auletes, being compelled to flee, passed over into Italy: or, perhaps, he was ordered to take this step by the intrigues of some Roman grandees, anxious of an opportunity to reinstate him. Pompey's attempts, with this view, thwarted by Cato, 56. Meanwhile the Alexandrines placed Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, on the throne; she married first Seleucus Cybiosactes, as being the lawful heir; and after putting that prince to death, united herself to Archelaus, 57.—Actual reinstalment of Auletes by the purchased assistance of Gabinius, Roman governor of Syria; and execution of Berenice, whose husband had fallen in the war, 54. Not long after, this miserable prince, no less effeminate than tyrannical, died, 51.

J. R. FOSTER, *Commentatio de successoribus Ptolemæi VII.*
Inserted in *Comment. Soc. Gotting.* vol. iii.

23. Auletes endeavoured by his last testament to insure the kingdom to his posterity, nominating as his successor, under the superintendence of the Roman nation, his two elder children. Ptolemey

Cleopatra,
B. C. 51—
31.

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PERIOD.

Dionysos, then thirteen years old, and Cleopatra, seventeen, who were to be united in wedlock: his two younger children, Ptolemey Neoterus and Arsinoe, he recommended to the Roman senate. Despite of these measures, Egypt would not have escaped, for twenty years, her fate, had not the impending calamities been diverted by the internal posture of affairs at Rome, and still more by the charms and policy of Cleopatra, who through her alliance with Cæsar and Antony not only preserved but even aggrandized her kingdom. From this time, however, the history of Egypt is most closely implicated with that of Rome.

Feuds between Cleopatra and her brother, excited and fomented by the eunuch Pothin, in whose hands the administration was: they lead to open war: Cleopatra, driven out, flees to Syria, where she levies troops: Cæsar in pursuit of the conquered Pompey arrives at Alexandria, and in the name of Rome, assumes the part of arbitrator between the king and queen, but suffers himself to be guided by the artifices of Cleopatra, 43. Violent sedition in Alexandria, and Cæsar besieged in Bruchium, the malecontent Pothin having brought into the city Achilles, the commander of the royal troops. The hard struggle in which Cæsar was now engaged, demonstrates not only the bitterness of the long rankling grudge of the Alexandrines against Rome, but also shows how decisive, on the whole of Egypt, were the revolutions of the capital. Ptolemey Dionysos having fallen in the war, and Cæsar being conqueror, the crown fell to Cleopatra, 47, with the condition that she should marry her brother, when he should be of age: but as soon as the prince grew towards manhood, and had been crowned at Memphis, she removed him by poison, 44.

Egypt becomes a
Roman province.

24. During the life of Cæsar, Cleopatra remained under his protection, and consequently in a state of dependence. Not only was a Roman garrison stationed in the capital city, but the queen

herself, together with her brother, were obliged to visit him at Rome. After the assassination of Cæsar, she took the side of the triumviri, not without endangering Egypt, threatened by Cassius of Syria; and after the death of her brother, succeeded in getting them to acknowledge as king, Ptolemey Cæsarion, a son whom she pretended to have had by Cæsar.—But the ardent passion conceived by Antony for her person, soon after the discomfiture of the republican party, now attached her inseparably to his fortunes; which, after vainly attempting to win over the victorious Octavius, she at last shared.

The chronology of the ten years in which Cleopatra lived, for the most part, with Antony, is not void of difficulty, but, according to the most probable authorities, may be arranged in the manner following. Summoned before his tribunal, on account of the pretended support afforded by some of her generals to Cassius, she appears in his presence at Tarsus, in the attire, and with the parade, of Venus, 41; he follows her into Egypt. In the year 40, Antony, called back to Italy by the breaking out of the Perusine war, is there induced, by political motives, to espouse Octavia; meanwhile Cleopatra abides in Egypt. In the autumn of 37, she goes to meet him in Syria, where he was making ready for the war against the Parthians, until then prosecuted by his lieutenants; here she obtained at his hands Phœnicia—Tyre and Sidon excepted,—together with Cyrene and Cyprus; and in 36 went back to Alexandria, where she remained during the campaign. The expedition ended, Antony returned into Egypt and sojourned at Alexandria. From thence it was his intention to attack Armenia in 35; this design, however, he did not effect until 34, when, after taking the king prisoner, he returned in triumph to Alexandria, and presented to Cleopatra, or to his three children by her, all the countries of Asia from the Mediterranean to the Indus, conquered or to be conquered. About then to renew, in conjunction with the king of Media, his attack on the Parthians, he is prevailed upon by Cleopatra to break with Octavia, who was to bring over troops to him,

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38. War between him and Octavius being now unavoidable, the Parthian campaign already opened is suspended, and Cleopatra follows to Samos, Antony, 32, who had now solemnly renounced Octavia. Cleopatra likewise followed him in his expedition against Octavius, decided by the battle of Actium, fought 2nd September, 31. Octavius having followed up his enemy into Egypt, Alexandria was besieged, 30, and after Antony had laid violent hands on himself, the place surrendered; and Cleopatra, not brooking to be dragged a prisoner to Rome, followed the example of her lover, and procured her own death.

Flourishing
state of
Egypt.

25.. Even in this last period, Egypt appears to have been the seat of unbounded wealth and effeminacy. The line of infamous princes who had succeeded to the third Ptolemey were unable to destroy her prosperity. Strange, however, as this seems, it may be easily accounted for when we take into consideration that the political revolutions scarcely ever overstepped the walls of the capital, and that a peace almost perpetual ruled in the country: that Egypt was the only great theatre of trade; and that that trade must have increased in the same proportion as the spirit of luxury increased in Rome, and in the Roman empire. The powerful effects wrought on Egypt by the growth of Roman luxury, are most convincingly demonstrated by the state of that country when it had become a Roman province; so far from the trade of Alexandria decreasing in that period,—albeit the city suffered in the first days after the conquest—it subsequently attained an extraordinary and gigantic bulk.

III. *History of Macedonia itself and of Greece, from the death of Alexander to the Roman conquest, B. C. 323—146.*

The sources for this history are the same as have been quoted above: see p. 229. Until the battle of Ipsus, 301, Diodorus is still our grand authority. But in the period extending from 301 to 224, we meet with some chasms: here our only sources almost are the fragments of Diodorus, a few of Plutarch's lives, and the ill-judged accounts of Justin. From the year 224, our main historian is Polybius; and even in those parts where we do not possess his work in its complete form, the fragments that have been preserved must always be the first authorities consulted. Livy, and other writers on Roman history, should accompany Polybius.

Among modern books, besides the general works mentioned above, p. 1. we may here in particular quote:

JOHN GILL, D. D. *The History of Greece, from the accession of Alexander of Macedon, till the final subjection to the Roman power, in eight books.* London, 1782, 4to. Although not a master-piece of composition, yet too important to be passed over in silence.

1. Of the three main kingdoms that arose out of Alexander's monarchy, Macedonia was the most insignificant, not only in extent,—particularly as till B. C. 286 Thrace remained a separate and independent province,—but likewise in population and wealth. Yet, being, as it were, the head country of the monarchy, it was considered to hold the first rank; and here at first resided the power which, nominally at least, extended over the whole. So early, however, as the year 311, after the extermination of Alexander's family, it became a completely separate kingdom. From that time its sphere of external operation was for the most part confined to Greece, the history of

Extent of
Macedonia.

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which, consequently, is closely inwove with that of Macedonia.

Posture of affairs in Greece at Alexander's decease: Thebes in ruins: Corinth occupied by a Macedonian garrison: Sparta damped by the defeat she had suffered at the hands of Antipater in her attempt at a revolt against Macedonia, under Agis II. 333—331: Athens on the other hand flourishing, and although confined to her own boundaries, still by her fame, and her naval power, the first state in Greece.

Antipater.

2. Although at the first division of the provinces, Craterus, as civil governor, was conjoined to Antipater, the latter had the management of affairs.

Lamiae
war,

B. C. 323.

And the termination, as arduous as it was successful, of the Lamiae war,—kindled immediately after the death of Alexander, by the Greeks, enthusiastic in the cause of freedom,—enabled him to rivet the chains of Greece more firmly than they had ever been before.

The Lamiae war—the sparks of which had been kindled by Alexander's edict, granting leave to return to their native countries, to all the Grecian emigrants, 20,000 in number, and nearly all in the Macedonian interest,—was fanned to a flame by the democratic party at Athens. Urged by Demosthenes and Hyperides, nearly all the states of central and northern Greece, Bœotia excepted, joined in this stand; and their example was quickly followed by most of those in Peloponnesus, with the exception of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and the Achæans. Not even in the Persian war was the unity so great! The gallant Leosthenes headed the league.—Defeat of Antipater, who is shut up in Lamia; but Leosthenes falls in the siege of that place, B. C. 323. Although Leonatus—who in the hope, by his marriage with Cleopatra, of ascending the throne, had come to the assistance of the Macedonians—was beaten and slain, 322, the Greeks were obliged to bend before the reinforcement brought to Antipater, out of Asia, by Craterus. And Antipater having fully succeeded in breaking the league, and negotiating with each separate nation, was enabled to dictate the terms. Most of the cities opened their gates to Macedonian troops; besides this.

Athens was obliged to purchase peace, through the mediation of Phocion and Demades, by an alteration in her constitution,—THIRD PERIOD. the poorer citizens being excluded from all share in the government, and for the most part translated into Thrace—and by a pledge to deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides; whose place Phocion occupied at the head of the state.—The Ætolians, the last against whom the Macedonian wars were directed, obtained better terms than they durst expect, Antipater and Craterus being obliged to hurry over to Asia to oppose Perdiccas.

3. That hatred which, even in the lifetime of Olympias retires to Epirus. Alexander, had sprung up between Antipater and Olympias, in consequence of his not permitting the dowager queen to rule, induced her to withdraw to Epirus; her rankling envy being still more embittered by the influence of the young queen Eurydice. See above, p. 222. Antipater, shortly after his expedition against Perdiccas, in which his colleague Craterus had fallen, and he himself had been appointed regent, died; passing over his son Cassander, he nominated his friend, Antipater dies, and names Polysperchon his successor, B. C. 320 —316. the aged Polysperchon, his successor as regent, and head guardian; hence arose between Cassander and Polysperchon a series of quarrels, in which, unfortunately for themselves, the royal family were implicated and finally exterminated, Cassander obtaining the sovereignty of Macedonia.

Cassander having secured the interest of Antigonus and Ptolemy, makes his escape to the former, 319: he had previously endeavoured also to raise a party in Macedonia and Greece, particularly by getting his friend Nicanor to be commander at Athens. —Measures taken by Polysperchon to oppose him; in the first place, here calls Olympias out of Epirus, but the princess dares not come without an army; in the next place, he nominates Eumenes commander of the royal troops in Asia (see above, p. 223); he likewise endeavours to gain the Grecian cities, by recalling the Macedonian garrisons, and changing the governors set over them

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by Antipater. These latter, however, were in 'most of the cities too firmly established to suffer themselves thus to be deposed; and even the expedition into Peloponnesus, undertaken by Polysperchon to enforce his injunctions, was attended but with partial success.—In the same year a twofold revolution in Athens, whither Polysperchon had sent his son Alexander, nominally for the purpose of driving out Nicanor, but virtually to get possession of that important city. In the first place, Alexander and Nicanor appearing to unite both for the attainment of one and the same object, the democratic party rise up, and overthrow the rulers, hitherto taken from Antipater's party, and headed by Phocion, who is compelled to swallow poison: soon after, however, Cassander occupies the city, excludes from the administration all that possess less than ten mines, and puts at the head of the state Demetrius Phalereus, who, from 318 to 307, ruled with great prudence.—Not long after, Olympias returns with an army from Epirus; the Macedonian troops of Philip and Eurydice having passed over to her side, she wreaks her revenge on the royal couple, and on the brother of Cassander, all of whom she has put to death, 317. Cassander, nevertheless, having obtained reinforcements in Peloponnesus, takes the field against her; she is besieged in Pydna, where, disappointed in the hope of being relieved either by Polysperchon or by Æacides of Epirus, both of whom were forsaken by their men, she is obliged to surrender, 316. Cassander, having caused her to be condemned by the Macedonian people, has her put to death.

- Cassander. 4. Cassander now master, and, from 302, king of Macedonia, confirmed his dominion by a marriage with Thessalonice, half-sister to Alexander, and at the same time endeavoured to corroborate as far as possible his authority in Greece. Polysperchon and his son Alexander, it is true, still made head in Peloponnesus; but the states without the peninsula, Ætolia excepted, were all either allies of Cassander, or occupied by Macedonian troops. After the defeat of the league against Antigonus, in which Cassander had borne a part, general peace was concluded, with the
- B. C. 314.

proviso, that the Grecian cities should be free, and that the young Alexander, when of age, should be raised to the throne of Macedonia: this induced Cassander to rid himself both of the young prince and his mother Roxana by murder: but thereby he exposed himself to an attack from Polysperchon, who, availing himself of the discontent of the Macedonians, brought back Hercules, the only remaining son and bastard of Alexander. Cassander diverted the storm by a new crime, instigating Polysperchon to murder the young Hercules, under promise of sharing the government: Polysperchon, however, unable to possess himself of the Peloponnesus promised him, appears to have preserved but little influence. Cassander met likewise with formidable opponents in Antigonus and his son; although delivered by the breaking out of the war with Ptolemey from the danger accruing from the first invasion of Greece by Demetrius, his situation became the more embarrassing by the second irruption; he was, however, extricated from his straits by the necessity in which Antigonus was placed of recalling his son, on account of the newly framed league (see above, p. 227).

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PERIOD.
B. C. 311.

308.

307.

Antigonus, on his return from Upper Asia, declares loudly against Cassander, B. C. 314; despatches his general Aristodemus to Peloponnesus, and frames a league with Polysperchon and his son Alexander; the latter, however, Cassander succeeds in winning over by the promise of the command of Peloponnesus. Alexander was soon after murdered, but his wife Cratesipolis succeeded him, and commanded with the spirit of a man. Meanwhile, Cassander carried war against the Ætolians, who sided with Antigonus, 313; but Antigonus, 312, sending his general Ptolemey into Greece with a fleet and army, Cassander lost his supremacy. In the peace of 311, the freedom of all the Grecian

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cities was stipulated ; but this very condition became the pretext of various and permanent feuds ; and Cassander having murdered the young king, together with his mother, drew upon himself the arms of Polysperchon, who wished to place Hercules on the throne, 310 ; but the pretender was removed in the manner above described, 309.—Cassander now extending again his power over Greece, Demetrius Poliorcetes was by his father sent into Greece, to prevent Ptolemy of Egypt, in the enforcement of the decree for the freedom of the Greeks, 308 ; the result at Athens was the restoration of democracy, and the expulsion of Demetrius Phalereus.—From the farther attacks of Demetrius, Cassander was delivered by the war which now broke out between Antigonus and Ptolemy, (see above, p. 227.) and had the leisure, once more, to strengthen his power in Greece, until 302, when Demetrius arrived a second time, and, as generalissimo of liberated Greece, pressed forward to the borders of Macedonia ; Demetrius was, however, called back by his father into Asia, and at the battle of Ipsus, 301, lost all his dominions in that quarter of the world. Although Athens closed her harbours against him, he still maintained his possessions in Peloponnesus, and even endeavoured to extend them ; from thence, in 297, he sallied forth, and once more took possession of his beloved Athens, and after driving out the usurper Lachares, forgave her ingratitude.

Cassander
dies, and
leaves the
throne to
his sons ;

5. Cassander survived but three years the establishment of his throne by the battle of Ipsus : he bequeathed Macedonia as a reversion to his three sons, the eldest of whom, Philip, soon followed him to the grave.

Antipater
and Alex-
ander.

6. The two remaining sons, Antipater and Alexander, soon worked their own destruction. Antipater having murdered his own mother Thesalonice, on account of the favour she showed his brother, was obliged to flee ; he applied for help to his wife's father Lysimachus of Thrace, where he soon after died. Meanwhile Alexander, fancying that he likewise stood in need of foreign assistance, addressed himself to Pyrrhus, king of Macedonia, and to Demetrius Poliorcetes, both of

whom obeyed the call only with the expectation of being paid. After various snares reciprocally laid, the king of Macedonia was murdered by Demetrius, and with him the race of Antipater became extinct.

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B. C. 295.

7. The army proclaimed Demetrius king; and in his person the house of Antigonus ascended the throne of Macedonia, and, after many vicissitudes, established their power. His seven years' reign, in which one project pressed on the other, was a constant series of wars; and as he never could learn how to bear with good fortune, his ambition was at last his ruin.

Demetrius,
294—287.

The kingdom of Demetrius comprised Macedonia, Thessaly, and the greatest part of the Peloponnesus; he was also master of Megara and Athens—Twofold capture of Thebes, which had been rebuilt by Cassander, 293, and 291; unsuccessful attempt upon Thrace, 292. His war with Pyrrhus, 290, in whom men fancied they beheld another Alexander, had already alienated the affections of the Macedonians; but his grand project for the recovery of Asia induced his enemies to get the start of him; and the hatred of his subjects compelled him secretly to escape to Peloponnesus, to his son Antigonus, 287. Athens, taking advantage of his misfortunes, drove out the Macedonian garrison, and by the election of archons, reestablished her ancient constitution; although Demetrius laid siege to the town, he suffered himself to be soothed to mercy by Crates. Having once more attempted to prosecute his plans against Asia, he was obliged, 286, to surrender to Seleucus his father-in-law, who, out of charity, kept him till the day of his death, 284.

8. Two claimants to the vacant throne now arose, Pyrrhus of Epirus, 287 Pyrrhus of Epirus and Lysimachus of Thrace; 286. but although Pyrrhus was first proclaimed king, with the cession of half the dominions, he could not, being a foreigner, support his power any

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longer than the year 286, when he was deposed by Lysimachus.

The sovereigns of Epirus, belonging to the stock of *Æacids*, were properly kings of the *Molossi*. See above, p. 142. They did not become lords of all Epirus, and of any historical importance, until the time of the Peloponnesian war. Subsequently to that period ruled Alcetas I. about 384, who pretended to be the sixteenth descendant from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles; Neoptolemus, father to Olympias, by whose marriage with Philip, 358, the kings of Epirus became intimately connected with Macedonia, *d.* 352; Arymbas, his brother, *d.* 342; Alexander I. son of Neoptolemus, and brother-in-law to Alexander the Great; he was ambitious to be as great a conqueror in the west as his kinsman was in the east, but he fell in Lucania, 332. *Æacides*, son of Arymbas, *d.* 312. Pyrrhus II. his son, the Ajax of his day, and we might almost say, rather an adventurer than a king. After uninterrupted wars waged in Macedonia, Greece, Italy, and Sicily, he fell at last at the storming of Argos, 272. He was followed by his son Alexander II. in the person of whose successor, Pyrrhus III. 219, the male line became extinct. Although the daughter of this last prince, Deidamia, succeeded to the throne, the Epirots were not long before they established a democratic government, which endured till such time as they were, together with Macedonia and the rest of Greece, brought under the Roman yoke, 146.

Lysima-
chus.

9. In consequence of the accession of Lysimachus, Thrace, and for a while even Asia Anterior, were annexed to the Macedonian kingdom. But rankling hate and family relations soon after involved Lysimachus in a war with Seleucus Nicator, in which, at the battle of Curupedion, he lost both his throne and his life.

B. C. 282.

Execution of the gallant Agathocles, eldest son of Lysimachus, at the instigation of his step-mother Arsinoë: his widow Lysandra and her brother Ptolemey Ceraunus, who had already been driven out of Egypt by his step-mother Berenice, go over, followed by a large party, to Seleucus, whom they excite to war.

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Seleucus.

10. The victorious Seleucus, already lord of Asia, now causing himself to be proclaimed likewise king of Macedonia, it seemed as if that country was about to become the head seat of the whole monarchy. But shortly after he had crossed into Europe, Seleucus fell by the murderous hand of Ptolemey Ceraunus, who, availing himself of the treasures of his victim, and of the yet remaining troops of Lysimachus, took possession of the throne; by another act of treachery he avenged himself of Arsinoe, his half-sister; but just as he conceived himself securely established, he was reft both of his crown and life by the irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. B. C. 281.

The irruption of the Gauls, threatening desolation not only to Macedonia but to the whole of Greece, took place in three successive expeditions. The first under Cambaules, (probably 280,) advanced no farther than Thrace, the invaders not being sufficiently numerous. The second in three bodies; against Thrace under Ceretrius; against Pæonia under Brennus and Acichorius; against Macedonia and Illyria under Belgius, 279. By the last-mentioned chieftain Ptolemey was defeated; he fell in the contest. In consequence, Meleager first, and Antipater subsequently, were appointed kings of Macedonia; but both, on account of incapacity, being quickly deposed, a Macedonian noble, Sosthenes, assumed the command, and this time liberated his country. But the year 278 brought with it the main storm, which spent its fury principally on Greece: Sosthenes was defeated and slain: and although the Greeks brought all their united forces into the field, Brennus and Acichorius burst into Greece on two different sides, and pushed on to Delphi, the object of their expedition; here, however, they were compelled to wheel back, and most of them were cut off, by hunger, cold, or the sword. Nevertheless, a portion of those barbarians stood their ground in the interior of Thrace, which, consequently, was for the most part lost to Macedonia: another portion consisting of various hordes, the Tectosagæ, Tolistobii, and Trocmi, crossed over to Asia Minor, where they established themselves in the

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country called after them Galatia (see above, p. 233). Although there can be no doubt that the Tectosagæ must have come from the innermost parts of Gaul, the mode of attack demonstrates that the main tide of invaders consisted of the neighbouring races; and, in fact, in those days the countries from the Danube to the Mediterranean and Adriatic were mostly occupied by Gauls.—Greece, though she strained every nerve, and, saving Peloponnesus, united in one league, could scarce bring forward 20,000 men to stem the torrent.

Antigonus
Gonnatas.

11. Antigonus of Gonni, son to Demetrius, now seated himself on the vacant throne of desolated Macedon; he bought off his competitor, Antiochus I. Soter, by a treaty and marriage. Successfully as he opposed the new irruption of the Gauls, he was dethroned by Pyrrhus, who, on his return from Italy, was a second time proclaimed king of Macedonia. That prince, however, having formed the design of conquering the Peloponnesus, and, after an ineffectual attack on Sparta, repelled with heroic gallantry, wishing to take possession of Argos, fell at the storming of that place.

B. C. 274.

272.

Extraordinary as these frequent revolutions appear, they may be easily accounted for by the mode of warfare in those days. Every thing depended on the armies; and these were composed of mercenaries, ever willing to fight against him they had defended the day before, if they fancied his rival to be a more valiant or fortunate leader. Since the death of Alexander, the Macedonian phalanx was no longer dependent on its captain, but they on their men. The impoverishment of the countries, a result of the wars, was such, that the soldier's was almost the only profitable trade; and none drove more ardently that trade than the Gauls, whose services were ever ready for any one who chose to pay.

12. After the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonnatas recovered the Macedonian throne, of which he—not, however, till he had stood a sharp

contest with Alexander, the son and successor of Philip—his posterity kept uninterrupted possession. But no sooner were they secure from foreign rivals, than the Macedonian policy was again directed against Greece, and the capture of Corinth seemed to ensure the dependency of the whole country, when the formation of the Ætolian, and yet more important Achæan, leagues, gave rise to relations entirely new, and of the highest interest, even for the universal history of the world. After so many storms, the sun of Greece was about to set in all his splendour!

The ancient confederacy of the twelve Achæan cities (see p. 144.) had endured until the death of Alexander, but dissolved in the subsequent times of commotion, particularly when, after the battle of Ipsus, 301, Demetrius and his son made the Peloponnesus the head seat of their power. Some of these cities were now garrisoned by those powers, in others arose tyrants, generally favoured by them. In 281, four asserted their freedom and renewed the ancient federation; which, five years afterwards, was gradually joined by the rest, Antigonus being busied elsewhere, in consequence of his occupation of the Macedonian throne. But the league did not become formidable till the accession of foreign states. This took place, the first instance, with Sicyon, through the exertions of the liberator of that town, Aratus, who now became the animating spirit of the federation; and in 243 brought over Corinth, after the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison, and Megara. Subsequently the league gradually gathered strength, by the junction of several Grecian cities, Athens among others, 229; and thereby excited the jealousy of the rest. The league now became involved in the disputes of the more extensive powers, and Aratus, more of a statesman than of a general, and little gifted with consistency, being at the first united with Ptolemy II. the federation was often but a shuttlecock in the hands of the Egyptian king. The main principles on which it was founded were the following: 1. Complete political equality of all the federate cities; in this respect it essentially differed from all the earlier federations in Greece. 2. Unconditional preservation of the domestic govern-

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ment in every one of the cities. 3. Two annual congresses of the deputies from all the cities, at Ægium, afterward at Corinth: here all common affairs, and those connected with foreign countries, were settled; here, likewise, were elected the strategus, or military leader and head of the union, and the ten demiurgi, or supreme magistrates.—But what more than all contributed to exalt this league, founded on pure liberty, was the virtue of Aratus 213, Philopœmen 183, and Lycortas 170, men who breathed into it the spirit of union, until, enfeebled by Roman policy, it was overthrown.

† BREITENBAUCH, *History of the Achæans and their league* 1782.

The Ætolian league arose about 284, being brought about by the oppressions of the Macedonian kings. The Ætolians had likewise a yearly congress, panætolum, at Thermus; where they chose a strategus and the apocleti, who constituted the state council. They had, besides, their secretary, γραμματεὺς; and supervisors, ἐφοροί, whose particular functions are, however, matter of doubt. This federation did not increase like the Achæan, none but Ætolians being admitted. The more unpolished this piratical nation remained, the more frequently it was used as the tool of foreign, and particularly of Roman, policy.

Demetrius
II. B. C.
243—233.

13. Antigonus, in the latter part of his reign, had recourse to various means, and more especially to an alliance with the Ætolians, for the purpose of counterpoising the Achæans. He died in his eightieth year, and was succeeded by his son, Demetrius II. who waged war upon the Ætolians, now supported by the Achæans; and directed his particular exertions to stint the growth of the latter, by favour shown to the tyrants of the separate cities. The remainder of the reign of this prince is scarce more than a chasm in history.

The vulgar assertion, that this prince conquered Cyrene and Libya, originates in a confusion of names; his uncle Demetrius, son of Poliorcetes of Ptolemais, being mentioned by Plutarch as king of Cyrene. The history of that town, from 258 to 142, is

veloped in almost total darkness; cf. Prolog. Trogi, l. xxvi. ad ultem Justin.

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14. Demetrius's son Philip was passed over; his brother's son, Antigonus II. surnamed Doson, being raised to the throne. This king was occupied the most of his time by the events in Greece, where a very remarkable revolution at Sparta, with which Plutarch's Agis and Cleomenes brings us pretty well acquainted, had raised up a formidable enemy against the Achæans; and so completely altered the relations, that the Macedonians, from opponents that they were, became allies of the Achæans.

Antigonus
Doson,
B. C. 233
—221.

Portraiture of the state of Sparta: the ancient constitution had still endured in form; but the plunder of foreign countries, and particularly the permission to transfer the landed estates, passed by Epitadeus, had produced great inequality of property. The restoration of Lysurgus's constitution had, therefore, a twofold object; to favour the poor by a new agrarian law and release from debts; to increase the power of the kings by repressing that of the ephori.—First attempt at reform 244, by king Agis III; attended in the beginning with partial success, but finally frustrated by the other king, Leonidas, and terminated in the extinction of Agis and his family, 241. Leonidas, however, was succeeded, 236, by his son Cleomenes, who victoriously defeated the plans of Aratus to force Sparta to accede to the Achæan league, 227; this king, by a forcible revolution, overthrew the ephori, and accomplished the project of Agis, at the same time increasing the Spartans by the admission of a number of periæci; he reinstated the laws of Lysurgus referring to private life; but as in a small republic a revolution cannot be confirmed without some external war, he attacked the Achæans as early as 224; these being defeated, implored, through Aratus, the help of Antigonus: Cleomenes in consequence was, at the battle of Sellasia, 222, obliged to yield to superior force, and with difficulty escaped over to Egypt; while Sparta was compelled to acknowledge her independence as a gift at the hands of Antigonus. Such was the miserable success of this attempt made by a few great men on a nation already degenerate. The quarrels

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between the ephori and king Lycurgus and his successor Machanidas, placed Sparta in a state of anarchy, which ended, 207, in the usurpation of the sovereign power by one Nabis, who destroyed the ancient form of government. Let him who would study great revolutions commence with that just described; insignificant as it is, none perhaps furnishes more instructive lessons.

PLUTARCHI *Agis et Cleomenes*. The facts of which are mostly compiled from the Commentaries of Aratus.

Philip II.
B. C. 221—
179.

15. Philip II. son of Demetrius. He ascended the throne at the early age of sixteen, endowed with many qualities, such as might, under favourable circumstances, form a great prince. Macedonia had recruited her strength during a long peace; and the grand aim of her policy, the supremacy of Greece, secured by the connexion of Antigonus with the Achæans, and by the victory of Sellasia, seemed to be within her grasp. But Philip lived in the time that Rome was pursuing her terrific plans of aggrandizement: the more vigorous and prompt his efforts were to withstand that power, the more deeply was he entangled in the new maze of events, which embittered the rest of his life, and at last brought him to the grave with a broken heart, converted by misfortune into a despot.

War of the
two leagues,
221—217.

16. The first five years of Philip were occupied by his participation in the war between the Achæans and Ætolians, called the war of the two leagues; notwithstanding the treachery of his minister Apellas and his dependents, the prince was enabled to dictate the conditions of peace, according to which both parties were to remain in possession of what they then had. The conclusion of this peace was hastened by the receipt of tidings from Italy of Hannibal's victory at

Thrasymenæ, Philip being then instigated to form more extensive projects by Demetrius of Pharus, who had been driven away by the Romans, and soon became all in all with the Macedonian king.

The war of the two leagues arose out of the piracies of the Ætolians on the Messenians, the latter of whom the Achæans undertook to protect, 221. The errors committed by Aratus compelled the Achæans to have recourse to Philip, 220; but the steps of the Macedonian king were for a long time crossed by the artifices of Apellas's faction, who wished the ruin of Aratus. The Acarnanians, Epirots, Messenians, and Scerdilaidas of Illyria, (who, however, soon after declared against Macedonia,) combined with Philip and the Achæans; the Ætolians, on the other hand, commanded by their own general, Scopas, had for their allies the Spartans and Eleans.—The most important consequence of this war for Macedonia was, that she began again to be a naval power.—About the same time occurred between the two trading republics of Byzantium and Rhodes (the latter supported by Prusias I. of Bithynia) a war, insignificant in itself, but which, as a commercial war, originating in the tollage imposed by the Byzantines, stands singular of its kind in this age, 222. The Rhodians, so powerful in those days by sea, compelled their adversaries to submit.

17. The negotiations between Philip and Hannibal concluded with an alliance, in which reciprocal help was promised towards annihilating Rome. But Rome contrived to excite so many foes against Philip on the borders of his own kingdom, and availed herself so skilfully of her naval power, that the execution of this plan was prevented until it became possible to attack the Macedonian king in Greece; where he had made himself many enemies, by the domineering tone he had assumed with his allies at the time that, sensible of his power, he was about to enter into a wider sphere.

Negotiations between Philip and Hannibal, B. C. 214.

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Commencement of hostilities by Rome against Philip: immediately that the alliance of Philip and Hannibal was known, a squadron with troops aboard was posted off the coast of Macedonia, by which the king himself was defeated at Apollonia, 214. —Alliance of Rome with the Ætolians, joined likewise by Sparta and Elis, Attalus king of Pergamus, and Scerdilaidas and Pleuratus, kings of Illyria, 211. On Philip's side were the Achæans, with whom Philopœmen more than supplied the loss of Aratus, caused, 213, by the Macedonian king; to them were joined the Acarnanians and Bœotians.—Attacked on every side, Philip successfully extricated himself from his difficulties; in the first place, he compelled the Ætolians, abandoned by Attalus and by Rome, to accept separate terms, which, shortly after, Rome, consulting her own convenience, converted into a general peace, inclusive of the allies on either side, 204.

War with
Attalus,
B.C. 203—
200.

18. New war of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, fought for the most part in Asia Minor; and his impolitic alliance with Antiochus III. to attack Egypt. Can Philip be blamed for his endeavours to disarm the military servants of the Romans? But Rome did not grant him time to effect his designs; the Macedonian king was taught at Chios, by woful experience, that his navy had not increased proportionably with that of the Rhodians.

202.

War with
Rome,
200—197.

19. The war with Rome suddenly hurled the Macedonian power from its lofty pitch; and by laying the foundation of Roman dominion in the east, wrought a change in almost all relations in that quarter. The first two years of the war showed pretty evidently, that mere force could scarcely overturn the Macedonian throne. But T. Quintius Flaminius stepped forward; with the magic spell of freedom he intoxicated the Greeks; Philip was reft of his allies; and the battle of Cynoscephalæ decided everything. The articles

198.

197.

of the peace were: 1. All Grecian cities in Europe and Asia are independent, and Philip shall withdraw his garrisons. 2. He shall surrender the whole of his navy, and shall hereafter never keep more than 500 armed men on foot. 3. He shall not, without previously informing Rome, undertake any war out of Macedonia. 4. He shall pay 1,000 talents by instalments, and deliver up his younger son Demetrius as an hostage.

The Roman allies in this war were: the Ætolians, Athenians, Rhodians, the kings of the Athamanes, Dardanians, and that of Pergamus.—The Achæans at the beginning sided with Philip, but were subsequently gained over by Flaminius. See below, in the Roman History.

20. Soon after the peace, the freedom of Greece was proclaimed at the Isthmian games by Flaminius: loud as the Greeks were in their exultations, this measure served merely to transfer the supremacy of their country from Macedonia to Rome: Grecian history, as well as the Macedonian, is now enwoven with that of the Romans. To foster quarrels between the Greek states, with the especial view of hindering the Achæans from growing too formidable, now became a fundamental principle at Rome; and Roman and anti-Roman parties having quickly arisen in every city, this political game was easily played.

Flaminius even took care that the Achæans should have an opponent in the person of Nabis, although under the necessity of waging war against him previous to his return into Italy, 194.—In 192, war between Nabis and the Achæans; followed after the murder of Nabis, at the hands of the Ætolians, by the accession of Sparta to the Achæan league.—But about the same time Greece once more became the theatre of foreign war; Antiochus having firmly seated himself in the country, and enleaguéd

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himself with several tribes, but more particularly the Ætolians, inspired with bitter and long-standing hatred against the Romans. These last, however, after the expulsion of Antiochus from Greece, 191, paid dearly for their secession; nor was peace granted them by Rome till after long and unsuccessful supplications, 189.

Fate of
Philip.

21. While war was pending between the Romans and Antiochus, Philip, in the character of one of the numerous allies of Rome, adventured to increase his territory at the expense of the Athamanes, Thracians, and Thessalians. To keep him in good humour he was permitted to effect those conquests; but after the termination of this war the oppression of Rome became so galling, that it could not be otherwise than that all his thoughts should centre in revenge, and all his exertions be directed towards the recovery of power. Meanwhile the violent measures adopted to repeople his exhausted kingdom—such the punishment of ambition which visits even the victorious—by the transplantation of the inhabitants of whole cities and countries; the consequent and unavoidable oppression of several of his neighbours excited universal complaints: and where was the accuser of Philip to whom Rome would not now lend a ready ear?—His younger son, Demetrius, the pupil of Rome, and by her intended, it is probable, to succeed to the crown, alone diverted the impending fate of Macedonia. But after the return of that prince from his embassy, the envy of his elder and bastard brother, Perseus, grew into an inveterate rancour, such as could not be quenched but by the death of the younger. The lot of Philip was indeed hard, compelled as a father to judge between his

B.C. 190.

189.

181.

two sons; but the measure of human woe was filled, when after the death of his favourite child he discovered that he was innocent; are we to wonder, that sorrow should have hurried him to the grave!

22. The same policy as against Philip, was observed by the Romans against the Achæans, with whom, since the termination of the war with Antiochus, they had assumed a loftier tone; the artful game was facilitated by the eternal quarrels among the Greeks themselves. Yet the great Philopœmen, worthy of a better age, maintained the dignity of the league at the very time that the Romans assumed to speak as arbitrators. After his decease they found it easy to raise a party among the Achæans themselves, the venal Calli- crates offering his services for the purpose.

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Roman policy against the Achæan league.
189.

183.

The Achæans were engaged in disputes, partly with Sparta, and partly with Messene; the grounds of difference were, that in both of those states there were factions headed by persons who, out of personal motives, and for the most part hatred against Philopœmen, wished to secede from the league; on the other hand, the prevailing idea among the Achæans was, that this league ought to comprise the whole of the Peloponnesus. In the war against the Messenians, 183, Philopœmen, at the age of seventy, was taken prisoner by the enemy and put to death.

PLUTARCHI, *Philopœmen*. Nearly the whole of which is compiled from the lost biography of Polybius.

23. The last Macedonian king, Perseus, had inherited his father Philip's full hatred of the Romans, together with talents, if not equal, at least but little inferior. He entered into the speculations of his predecessor, and the first seven years of his reign were occupied in constant exertions to muster forces against Rome; with

Perseus,
179—168.

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PERIOD.

this view he called the Bastarnæ out of the north, in order to settle them in the territories of his enemies the Dardanians; he endeavoured to frame alliances with the kings of Illyria, Thrace, Syria, and Bithynia; more than all, he strove by negotiations and promises to reestablish the ancient influence of Macedonia in Greece.

The establishment in Thrace and Dardania of the Bastarnæ, probably a German race, resident beyond the Danube, in order with them to carry war against the Romans, was one of the plans traced by Philip, and but partially executed by Perseus.—In Greece, the Macedonian party, raised by Perseus principally out of the great numbers of impoverished citizens, would probably have had the upper hand, had not the terror and vigilance of Rome been effectual bars. Hence the Achæans, apparently at least, remained on the Roman side; the Ætolians, by domestic factions, had worked their own destruction; similar was the case with the Acarnanians; the federation of the Bœotians had been completely dissolved by the Romans, 171. On the other hand, in Epirus the Macedonian party was superior; Thessaly was occupied by Perseus; several of the Thracian tribes were friendly to him; and in king Gentius he found an ally who might have been highly useful, had not the Macedonian prince, by an ill-timed avarice, deprived himself of that assistance.

Defeat of
Perseus at
Pydna.

24. The commencement of open hostilities was hastened by the rankling hatred existing between Perseus and Eumenes, and by the intrigues of the latter at Rome. Neglect of the favourable moment for taking the field, and the defensive plan, skilfully in other respects as it was laid, caused the ruin of Perseus, as they had that of Antiochus. Nevertheless he protracted the war to the fourth year, when the battle of Pydna decided the fate both of him and his kingdom.

B. C. 172—
168.

Miserable fate of Perseus until his capture at Samothrace; and afterward until his death at Rome, 166.

25. According to the system at that period followed by Rome, the conquered kingdom of Macedonia was not immediately converted into a province; it was first reft of all power of offence, by being republicanized and divided into four districts, wholly distinct from one another, and bound to pay to Rome the half of the tribute they were before wont to furnish to their kings.

26. It was in the natural order of things that the independence of Greece, and more especially that of the Achæan league, should fall with Perseus. The political *inquisition* of the Roman commissaries not only visited with punishment the declared partizans of Macedonia; but even to have stood neutral was a crime that subjected to suspicion. Rome, however, amid the rising hatred, did not deem herself secure until by one blow she had rid herself of all opponents of any importance. Above a thousand of the most eminent of the Achæans were summoned to Rome to justify themselves, and there detained seventeen years in prison without a hearing. At the head of the league, likewise, stood now the man who had delivered them up, Callicrates, (*d.* 150.) a wretch who could, unmoved, hear "the lads in the streets taunt him with treachery."—Of a truth a more tranquil period ensued for Greece, the result of obvious causes.

Fall of the
Achæan
league.

Callicrates,
B. C. 167—
150.

27. The ultimate lot both of Macedon and Greece was decided by the system now adopted at Rome, that of converting into formal subjection the dependency of nations. The insurrection of Andriscus in Macedonia, an individual who pretended to be son to Perseus, was quelled by Me-

Greece be-
comes a
Roman
province,
150—148.

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PERIOD.

tellus, the country being constituted into a Roman province; two years afterward, at the sack of Corinth, vanished the last glimmer of Grecian freedom.

The last war of the Achæans arose out of certain quarrels with Sparta, 150, fomented by Diaus, Critolaus, and Damocritus, who had returned bitterly enraged from the Roman prison; in these disputes Rome meddled, with the design of wholly dissolving the Achæan league. The first pretext that offered for executing that scheme was the ill treatment of the Roman ambassadors at Corinth, 148; war still raging with Carthage and Andriscus, the Romans as yet assumed a lenient tone. But the party of Diaus and Critolaus would have war; the plenipotentiaries of Metellus were again insulted, and the Achæans declared war against Sparta and Rome. In the same year they were, under the command of Critolaus, routed by Metellus, who fell in the battle; Metellus was replaced in the command by Mummius, who defeated Diaus the successor of Critolaus, took and razed Corinth, 146. The consequence was, that Greece, under the name of Achaia, became a Roman province, although to a few cities, such as Athens, for instance, some shadow of freedom was still left.

IV. *History of some smaller or more distant Kingdoms and States erected out of the Macedonian monarchy.*

SOURCES. Besides the writers enumerated above, (see p. 229.) Memnon, an historian of Heraclea in Pontus, deserves particular mention in this place (see p. 161): some extracts from his work have been preserved to us by Photius, Cod. 224. In some individual portions, as, for instance, in the Parthian history, Justin¹ is our main authority; as are likewise Ammianus Marcellinus,

¹ As Justin did no more than extract from Trogus Pompeius, a question presents itself of high importance for various portions of ancient history: what authorities did Trogus Pompeius follow? The answer will be found in two treatises by A. H. L. HEEREN: *De fontibus et auctoritate Trogi Pompeii, quoque epitomatoris Justinii*, inserted in *Comment. Soc. Gott.* vol. xv.

and the extracts from Arrian's *Parthica*, found in Photius. The coins of the kings are also of great importance; but unfortunately Vaillant's Essay shows, that even with their assistance the chronology still remains very unsettled. For the Jewish history, Josephus (see p. 34.) is the grand writer: of the Books of the Old Testament, those of Ezra and Nehemiah, together with Maccabees, although the last are not always to be depended upon.

The modern writers are enumerated below, under the heads of the different kingdoms. Much information is likewise scattered about the works on ancient numismatics.

1. Besides the three main empires into which the monarchy of Alexander divided, there likewise arose in those extensive regions several branch kingdoms, one of which even grew in time to be among the most mighty of the world. To these belong the kingdoms of, 1. Pergamus. 2. Bithynia. 3. Paphlagonia: 4. Pontus. 5. Cappadocia. 6. Great Armenia. 7. Little Armenia. 8. Parthia. 9. Bactria. 10. Jews subsequent to the Maccabees.

Smaller
states rising
out of Alex-
ander's em-
pire.

We are acquainted with the history of these kingdoms, the Jewish state alone excepted, only so far forth as they were implicated in the concerns of the greater empires; of their internal history we know little, often nothing. With respect to many of them, therefore, little more can be produced than a series of chronological data, indispensable, notwithstanding, in universal history.

2. The kingdom of Pergamus, in Mysia, arose during the war between Seleucus and Lysimachus. It owed its rise to the prudence of its rulers, the wisest of whom luckily reigned the longest, and to the weakness of the Seleucidæ: for its increase it was indebted to the Romans, who in aggrandizing the power of Pergamus acted with a view to their own interest. History

Kingdom of
Pergamus,
B.C. 283—
133.

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exhibits scarcely one subordinate kingdom whose princes took such skilful advantage of the political circumstances of the times; and yet they earned still greater renown by the anxiety they showed, rivalling the Ptolemys, to foster the arts of peace, industry, science, architecture, sculpture, and painting. How dazzling the splendour with which the small state of Pergamus outshines many a mighty empire!

Philetærus, lieutenant of Lysimachus, in Pergamus, asserts his independence; and maintains possession of the citadel and town, 283—263. His nephew, Eumenes I. 263—241, defeats Antiochus I. at Sardes, 263, and becomes master of Æolis and the circumjacent country. His nephew, Attalus I. 241—197, after his victory over the Galatians, 239, becomes king of Pergamus: a noble prince; one whose genius and activity embraced everything. His wars against Achæus brought him in alliance with Antiochus III. 216. Commencement of an alliance with Rome, arising out of his participation in the Ætolian league against Macedon, 211, in order to thwart Philip's project of conquest. Hence, after Philip's irruption into Asia, 203, participation, on the side of Rome, in the Macedonian war. His son, Eumenes II. the inheritor of all his father's great qualities, 197—158. As a reward for his assistance against Antiochus the Great, the Romans presented him with almost all the territories possessed by the vanquished king in Asia Minor, (Phrygia, Mysia, Lycaonia, Lydia, Ionia, and a part of Caria,) which thereafter constituted the kingdom of Pergamus; this prince extended his frontiers, but lost his independence. In the war with Perseus he was scarce able to preserve the good will of the senate, and therewith his kingdom. His brother, Attalus II. 158—138, a more faithful dependent of Rome, took part in nearly all the concerns of Asia Minor, more especially Bithynia. His nephew, Attalus III. 138—133, a madman, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, who, after vanquishing the lawful heir, Aristonicus, 130, took possession of it, annexing it to their empire, under the shape of a province called Asia.—Great discoveries and vast establishments made at Pergamus. Rich library; subsequently transferred by Antony to Alexandria, as a present for Cleopatra.

Museum. Discovery of parchment the principal vehicle for the preservation of the works of literature.

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CHOISEUIL GOUFFIER, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, vol. ii. 1809. Containing excellent observations, both on the monuments and history of Pergamus, as well as on those of all the neighbouring coasts and islands.

SEVIN, *Recherches sur les rois de Pergame*, inserted in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* vol. xii.

From the fall of Tyre and the unsuccessful attempt of Demetrius, B. C. 307, to the establishment of Roman dominion in the east, 300—200, was the brilliant period of Rhodes; alike important by political wisdom, naval power, and extensive trade. At the head of the senate (*βουλὴ*) were placed presidents, (*πρυτανεῖς*), who went out of office every half-year, and were honoured with precedence in the meetings of the commons. Friendship with all, alliance with none, was the fundamental maxim of Rhodian policy, until subverted by Rome. Thus was preserved the dignity of the state, together with its independence and political activity—where do we not meet with Rhodian embassies?—and permanent splendour, resulting from the cultivation of arts and sciences. How great the tributes of universal commiseration paid to Rhodes, after that dreadful earthquake, which threw down even the famous colossus, 227! Long did her squadrons command the Ægean; over that sea, the Euxine, and the western parts of the Mediterranean as far as Sicily, her commerce extended; consisting in the rich exchange of commodities between three quarters of the globe. Her revenue proceeded from the customs, and was abundant; until, blinded by avarice, she sought to obtain at Peræa territory on the mainland; an ambition of which the Romans availed themselves to her detriment, by the presentation of Lycia and Caria, 190. And yet did this republic outlive that of Rome! Great, indeed, is the chasm left in general history by the loss of the internal history of this island!

P. D. CH. PAULSEN, *Commentatio exhibens Rhodi descriptionem Macedonica ætate*, Göttingæ, 1818. A prize essay.

3. The other small kingdoms of Asia Minor are fragments rather of the Persian than of the Macedonian monarchy; for Alexander's march following another direction, they were not formally

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subjugated by that conqueror. The lines of their kings are generally traced back to an early period of the Persian age; but, properly speaking, their rulers in those days were nothing more than vice-roys: selected indeed, for the most part, from the royal family, they bore the title of princes; and, in the gradual decline of the empire, not unfrequently threw up their allegiance. Nevertheless these kingdoms do not appear as really independent until after the time of Alexander. Connected with the Grecian republics Heraclea, Sinope, Byzantium, etc. they formed, both in the Macedonian and Roman ages, a system of small states, often distracted by internal wars, and still oftener mere tools in the hands of the more powerful.

1. *Bithynia*. Mention is made so early as the Persian period of two kings in Bithynia, Dydalsus and Botyras. The son of the latter, Bias, B. C. 378—328, made head against Caranus, one of Alexander's generals; as did also his son Zipætas, *d.* 281, against Lysimachus.—Nicomedes I. *d.* 248. He called the Gauls over from Thrace, 278, and with their assistance deposed his brother Zipætas; the Gauls in consequence kept their footing in Galatia and were for a long time an object of terror to Asia Minor. Zela, *d.* about 232; established his dominion after a war with his half-brothers. Prusias I. son-in-law and ally of Philip II. of Macedon, *d.* 192. He sided with the Rhodians in the commercial war against Byzantium, 222, (see above, p. 278, 279.) and directed his arms, 196, against Heraclea, a Grecian city in Bithynia, with a respectable territory along shore. Prusias II. waged war against Eumenes II. at the instigation of Hannibal, who had fled to his court, 184; he was subsequently about to deliver up the fugitive to the Romans; but Hannibal put a period to his own days, 183; this king likewise waged war against Attalus II. 153; in both these contests Rome acted as arbitress. Prusias entitled himself a freedman of the Romans, and was dethroned by his own son, Nicomedes II. *d.* 92; a confederate of Mithridates the Great, with whom, however, he afterwards fell out con-

cerning the appropriation of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Nicomedes was murdered by his son Socrates, who was, however, compelled to flee; in consequence of which Nicomedes III. succeeded to the crown. Deposed by Mithridates, who supported his half-brother Socrates; he was reinstated by Rome, 90. Having, however, at the instigation of the Romans, 89, attacked Mithridates, he was defeated and expelled in the first Mithridatic war, now kindled; but in the peace of 85, he was again reinstated by Sulla. At his death, 75, he bequeathed Bithynia to the Romans; and this legacy gave rise to the third Mithridatic war.

VAILLANT, *Imperium Arsacidarum*, vol. ii. See below.

SEVIN, *Recherches sur les rois de Bithynie*; inserted in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript.* vol. xii.

2. *Paphlagonia*. Even in the Persian age, the rulers of this country were but nominally tributary. After Alexander's death, B.C. 323, it fell into the hands of the kings of Pontus; it was, however, subsequently, again governed by its own monarchs; among whom we hear of Morzes, about 179; Pylæmenes I. about 131: who assisted the Romans in the war against Aristonicus of Pergunnus.—Pylæmenes II. *d.* before 121; who is said to have bequeathed his kingdom to Mithridates V. of Pontus. Hence Paphlagonia came to be implicated in the fortunes of Pontus, (see just below,) until after the fall of Mithridates the Great, 63; that kingdom was converted into a province, with the exception of one of the southern districts, which the Romans left in possession of some shadow of freedom.

3. *Pontus*. The later kings of this country derived their descent from the family of the Achæmenidæ, or house of Persia. In the Persian age they remained dependent or tributary princes; and as such we must consider Artabazes, son of Hystaspis, *d.* 480, Mithridates I. *d.* 368, and Ariobarzanes, *d.* 337, mentioned as the earliest kings of Pontus. Mithridates II. surnamed Ctistes, *d.* 302, was one of the first to acknowledge subjection to Alexander; after the death of the conqueror he sided with Antigonus, who treacherously caused him to be murdered. His son, Mithridates III. *d.* 266, (the Ariobarzanes of Memnon,) not only maintained himself after the battle of Ipsus against Lysimachus, but likewise possessed himself of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Mithridates IV. father-in-law to Antiochus the Great, waged an unsuccessful war against Sinope. The year of his death is undetermined, Pharnaces, *d.* about 156.

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He conquered Sinope 183; and that town then became the royal residence. War with Eumenes II. whom Rome had made so powerful, and with his allies; terminated by a treaty, according to which Pharnaces ceded Paphlagonia, B.C. 179. Mithridates V. *d.* about 121. He was an ally of the Romans, from whom, after the defeat of Aristonicus of Phrygia, he contrived to obtain Great Phrygia. Mithridates VI. Eupator, about 121—64. He bore the title of Great, an epithet to which he was as fully entitled as Peter I. in modern history; indeed he resembled the Russian prince in almost everything except in good fortune. His reign, although of the highest importance in history, is, particularly in the portion previous to the wars with Rome, replete with chronological difficulties.—At the age of twelve years he inherits from his father not only Pontus, but likewise Phrygia, and claims to the throne of Paphlagonia, vacated by the death of Pylæmenes II.—During his nonage, 121—112, while by the exercise of cruelty he escaped from the snares of his guardians, Rome deprived him of Phrygia. Conquests in Colchis and on the eastern side of the Black sea, 112—110.—Commencement of the Scythian wars. Called by the Greeks of Crimea to their assistance, he expelled the Scythians; subjected several insignificant Scythian princes on the mainland; and entered into alliances with the Sarmatic, and even Germanic, races as far as the Danube, 108—105, having already a view to the invasion of Italy from the north.—This war ended, he travels over Asia, (*Asia Minor*?) about 104—103.—At his return, after punishing with death his faithless sister and wife, Laodice, he makes good his pretensions to Paphlagonia, which he divides with Nicomedes II. 102. The Roman senate demanding the restoration of that province, Mithridates not only refuses to accede, but likewise takes possession of Galatia; meanwhile Nicomedes places on the throne of Paphlagonia one of his own sons, whom he gives out to be a son of Pylæmenes II. and denominates Pylæmenes III.—Rupture with Nicomedes II. 101; the subject of dispute Cappadocia, which, after removing the king, Ariarathes VII. his brother-in-law, with the assistance of Gordius, Mithridates now wished to possess himself of; he is anticipated, however, by Nicomedes II. who marries Laodice, Ariarathes's widow.—Mithridates, notwithstanding, expels his rival, under pretence of holding the kingdom for his sister's son, Ariarathes VIII. whom at the end of a few months he puts to death in a conference, 94; he defeats the brother of the murdered prince, Ariarathes IX. and then

places on the throne, under the name of Ariarathes X. his own son, who is given out to be a third son of Ariarathes VII; in opposition to whom Nicomedes sets up another pretended Ariarathes. The Roman senate, meanwhile, declare both Paphlagonia and Cappadocia free, B. C. 92; attending, however, to the desires of the Cappadocians, they sanction the election of Ariobarzanes to the crown; and he is put in possession of the kingdom by Sulla, as proprætor of Cilicia, likewise in 92.—Mithridates, on the other hand, frames alliance with the king of Armenia, Tigranes, to whom he gives his daughter in marriage; and employs him in expelling Ariobarzanes.—He himself, after the death of Nicomedes II. 92, supports the claims of the deceased king's exiled son, Socrates Chrestus, against the bastard Nicomedes III. and in the mean time takes possession of Paphlagonia. Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes are reinstated by a Roman embassy, 90, Mithridates, in order to gain time against Rome, causing Socrates to be put to death. The hostilities of Nicomedes, instigated by Rome, gave rise to the first Roman war, 89—85, fought in Asia and Greece, and brought to a conclusion by Sulla. By the peace of 85, Mithridates gives up again Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia.—War with the revolted Colchians and Bosphorans, 84.—Second war with Rome brought about by the Roman governor, Murena, 83—81. Mithridates hereupon appoints his son, Machares, king of Bosphorus, (Crimea,) whom he afterward himself causes to be put to death, 66; he was likewise, in all probability, the instigator of the migration of the Sarmatæ out of Asia into Europe, in order to maintain his conquests in that quarter, about 80. Fresh disputes with Rome about Cappadocia, of which Tigranes takes possession, and third war with Rome, 75—64. The contest ended in the downfall of Mithridates, caused by the treachery of his son Pharnaces; Pontus became a Roman province; although the Romans, in the sequel, appointed over a portion of the country princes from the royal house, Darius, Polemo I. Polemo II. until Nero reduced it again wholly to the state of a province.

VAILLANT, *Imperium Achæmenidarum* in his *Imperium Artaxidarum*, tom. ii. With the assistance of the coins.

For the history of Mithridates the Great, previously treated without sufficient chronological accuracy, see DE BROSSES, *Histoire de la Rép. Romaine*, and more especially

JOAN. ERNST. WOLTERS DORF, *Commentatio vitæ Mithridatis Magni, per annos digestam, sistens; præmio ornata ab A. Phil. Ord. Göttingæ, A. 1812.*

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4. *Cappadocia*. Until the time of Alexander this country remained a province of the Persian empire, although the generals made, ever and anon, attempts at insurrection. The royal family was here likewise a branch of the royal house; Ariarathes I. was particularly distinguished about B. C. 354. The contemporary of Alexander was Ariarathes II. who, attacking Perdiccas and Eumenes, fell in the contest, 322. Nevertheless his son, Ariarathes III. backed by the Armenians, recovered the sceptre about 312. The son of this king, Ariaramnes, formed a matrimonial connexion with the Seleucidæ, uniting his son Ariarathes IV. to the daughter of Antiochus Θεός. Ariarathes before his death, associated to the throne his son, Ariarathes δ. 162. who married Antiochis, daughter to Antiochus the Great; this princess, finding herself at first barren, procured two spurious sons, one of whom, Orophernes, subsequently wrested the sceptre from the legitimate and later born son, Ariarathes, but was afterward expelled by the rightful heir, 157. In a war against Aristonicus of Pergamus, 131, he fell, the ally of the Romans, leaving behind him six sons; five of whom were cut off by his ambitious relict Laodice; the sixth, however, Ariarathes VII. ascended the throne; he was married to Laodice, sister of Mithridates the Great, at whose instigation he was murdered by Gordius, under pretence of placing on the throne his sister's son, Ariarathes VIII; this last prince was soon after treacherously put to death by Mithridates, 94, and his brother Ariarathes IX. defeated 93, died of a broken heart: Mithridates then placed on the throne his own son, Ariarathes X. a lad eight years old. The independence of Cappadocia having meanwhile been proclaimed at Rome, the inhabitants of the country, in order to preclude domestic broils, gave themselves a king, appointing to that dignity Ariobarzanes I. who was installed by Sulla, 92, and, backed by the Romans, kept his footing in the Mithridatic wars. He made over the crown to his son, Ariobarzanes II. who was slain by the army of Brutus and Cassius, 43, as was his brother Ariobarzanes III. 34, by Mark Antony; Antony then appointed Archelaus to be king, who, enticed to Rome by Tiberius, A. D. 17, was there assassinated; and Cappadocia then became a Roman province.

5. *Armenia* was a province of the Syrian empire until the defeat of Antiochus the Great by Rome, 190. That defeat was followed by the accession of Antiochus's lieutenants, Artabazanes and Zariadras; and now arose the two kingdoms of Armenia Major and Armenia Minor (the latter on the west bank of

Upper Euphrates). In Armenia Major the family of Artaxias kept possession of the throne, under eight (according to others *ten*) consecutive kings, until B. C. 5.—The only remarkable prince of this line was Tigranes I. 95—60, son-in-law and ally of Mithridates the Great, and lord of Asia Minor, Cappadocia, and Syria. He was, however, at the peace of 63, obliged to give up all, so that Armenia was dependent on the Romans, and remained so until B. C. 5, when it became the object of contention between the Romans and Parthians, being ruled at intervals by kings appointed by both parties, who endeavoured thereby to cover their provinces. Finally, in A. D. 412, Armenia became a province of the new Persian empire.—In Asia Minor the descendants of Zariadras ruled dependently on Rome; subsequently to its defection under Mithridates the Great it usually formed part of some one of the neighbouring kingdoms, until in the reign of Vespasian it was converted into a province of the Roman empire.

VAILLANT, *Elenchus regum Armeniæ Majoris*, in his *Hist. Imp. Arsacidarum*.

4. Besides the above small kingdoms, two mighty empires arose in Inner Asia, both out of Alexander's monarchy, and at the same time: they were the Parthian and the Bactrian; each theretofore constituting a part of the empire of the Seleucidæ, from which they seceded under Antiochus II. The Parthian kingdom, or that of the Arsacidæ, B. C. 256—A. D. 226, at the maximum of its extension, comprised the countries between the Euphrates and Indus. Its history, so far as we are acquainted with it, divides into four periods (see below); but so scanty, unfortunately, is our information on all that relates to the Parthians, wars only excepted, that the most important points are even beyond the reach of conjecture.

Bactrian
and Par-
thian em-
pires.

Main facts in the history and constitution of the Parthian kingdom. *a.* Similar in that respect to the ancient Persian em-

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pire, the Parthian arose out of the conquests made by a rude mountain race, whose origin, in Central Asia, Scythian and probably Tatarian, was betrayed even in later times by their speech and mode of life;—their conquests, however, were not effected with the same rapidity as those of the Persians. *b.* This empire increased at the expense of the Syrian in the west, and of the Bactrian in the east; but its dominion was never permanently established beyond the Euphrates, Indus, and Oxus. *c.* The wars with Rome, commencing in B. C. 53, and springing out of the disputes for the possession of the Armenian throne, were for a long time unsuccessful to the Romans. Success did not accompany the arms of Rome until she had discovered the art of raising her own parties within the kingdom itself, by lending her support to pretenders; her success was at the same time not a little furthered by the unfavourable situation of the Parthian capital Seleucias and the neighbouring town of Ctesiphon, the real head quarters of the court. *d.* The empire was indeed divided into satrapies, eighteen of which are enumerated; nevertheless it comprised likewise several small kingdoms, which preserved their own rulers, only that they were tributary, such, for instance, as Persis, etc. The Græco-Macedonian settlements were also in possession of great privileges, and of their own civil governments; Seleucia more especially, where the coins of the Parthian sovereigns were struck. *e.* The constitution was monarchical-aristocratic, something like that of the Poles, in the period of the Jagellons. At the king's side sat a supreme state council, (*senatus*, in all probability what was called the *megistanes*,) who had the power of deposing the king, and the privilege, it is supposed, of confirming his accession previous to the ceremony of coronation, performed by the field-marshal (*surenas*). The right of succession was only so far determined as belonging to the house of the Arsacidæ; the many pretenders to which this uncertainty gave rise, produced factions and domestic wars, doubly injurious to the empire when fomented and shared by foreigners. *f.* In relation to Asiatic commerce, the Parthian supremacy was of importance, inasmuch as it interrupted the direct intercourse between the western and eastern countries: it being a maxim of the Parthians not to grant a passage through their country to any stranger. This destruction of the trade occurs in the third period of the empire, being a natural result of the many wars with Rome, and the distrust thence ensuing. The East India trade, in consequence, took another road through

Almyra and Alexandria, which were indebted to it for their splendour and prosperity. *g.* It is probable that this was the reason that excessive luxury took a less hold on the Parthians than on the other ruling nations of Asia, notwithstanding their predilection for Grecian civility and literature, in those days, spread all over the east.

Line of the kings. I. Syrian period, that of reiterated wars with the Seleucidae, until 130. Arsaces I. 256—253, founder of the Parthian independence, by the murder of the Syrian viceroy, Ptolemaeus, to which he was instigated by the insult offered to his brother Tiridates. Arsaces II. (Tiridates I.) brother of the foregoing, *d.* 216. He possessed himself of Hyrcania, about 244, confirmed the Parthian power by a victory on Seleucus Callinicus, 238, whom he took prisoner, 236. Arsaces III. (Artabanus I.) *d.* 196. In his reign occurred the unsuccessful attempt of Antiochus III. who, in the treaty of 210, was obliged to renounce all claims on Parthia and Hyrcania, in return for which Arsaces lent his assistance to Antiochus in the war against Bactria. Arsaces IV. (Priapatius,) *d.* about 181. Arsaces V. Phraates I.) *d.* about 144; he conquered the Mardians on the Caspian. His brother, Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I.) *d.* 136. He raised the hitherto confined kingdom of Parthia to rank among the mighty empires of the world, having, after the decease of Antiochus Epiphanes, 164, by the capture of Media, Persis, Babylonia, and other countries, extended the frontiers westward to the Euphrates, and eastward to the Hydaspes, beyond the Indus. The invasion of Demetrius II. of Syria, supported by an insurrection of the conquered races, ended 140, in the capture of the aggressor. Arsaces VII. (Phraates II.) *d.* about 127. The invasion, at first successful, by Antiochus Sidetes, 132, who, however, was afterwards, 131, together with his whole army, cut off, secured the Parthian empire for ever from the attacks of the Syrian kings.

II. Period of the eastern nomad wars; from 130—53. After the fall of the Bactrian empire, which hitherto had stood the eastern rampart of the Parthians, arose violent wars with the nomad races of Central Asia (Scythæ, Dahæ, Tochari, etc.) in which Arsaces VII. was slain. Arsaces VIII. (Artabanus II.) shared the same fate about 124. Arsaces IX. (Mithridates II.) *d.* 87. This prince appears to have restored peace to the east after bloody wars; he met, however, with a powerful rival in Tigranes I. of Armenia. In his reign first transactions between

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the Parthians and Romans, 92, Sulla being *proprætor* of Cilicia. Arsaces X. (*Mnasciras*,) *d.* about 76, waged a long war for the succession with his follower on the throne, the *septuagenarius*, Arsaces XI. (*Sinatroces*,) *d.* about 68. Unsuccessful war with Tigranes I. In consequence of civil wars, that with Tigranes, and the formidable power of Mithridates the Great, the Parthian empire was now greatly weakened. Arsaces XII. (*Phrantes III.*) *d.* 60, contemporary with the third Mithridatic war. Although both parties eagerly courted his alliance, and he himself was engaged in the contest with Tigranes, he, notwithstanding, observed an armed neutrality, and supported the claim of the Parthian empire to be bounded by the Euphrates. Neither Lucullus nor Pompey durst attack him. The fall of Mithridates and of his empire, 64, constitutes, however, an epocha in the Parthian history, Romans and Parthians being now neighbours.—Arsaces XIII. (*Mithridates II.*) *d.* 54, deposed, after several wars, by his younger brother Orodes, and, after the capture of Babylon, where he had taken refuge, put to death.

III. Roman period; from B. C. 53. to A. D. 226; that of the wars with Rome. Arsaces XIV. (*Orodes I.*) *d.* 36. In his reign the first war with Rome, caused by the invasion of Crassus; it ends in the annihilation of the invading army and general, 53. In consequence of this victory the Parthian power acquired such preponderance, that the Parthians frequently played the masters on the hither side of the Euphrates, in Syria, which they attacked in 52 and 51.—In the war between Pompey and Caesar they sided with the former, and so furnished the latter with a pretext for his Parthian expedition, in which, however, he was prevented by murder in 44; again in the war between the triumviri and Brutus and Cassius, 42, they took the part of the republicans. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, the Parthians, allured by the Roman general and ambassador Labienus, and commanded by him and Pacorus, (eldest son to Arsaces,) spread over the whole of Syria and Asia Minor, 40; but, after violent exertions, were driven back by Ventidius, Antony's general, 39, 38; Pacorus lost his life, and his father died of grief. Arsaces XV. (*Phraates IV.*) *d.* A. D. 4, contemporary of Augustus. He confirmed his power by the murder of his brothers and their dependents; his views were likewise furthered by the failure of Antony's expedition, B. C. 36, which ended pretty nearly in the same manner as that of Cassius. The remainder of his reign was disturbed by a pretender to the throne, Tiridates, who, after

defeat, 25, found an asylum at the court of Augustus. The threatened attack of Augustus was diverted by Phraates's rejection of the standards taken from Crassus, 20; a dispute, however, subsequently arose respecting the possession of the Armenian throne, A. D. 2, on which account Caius Cæsar was despatched to Asia, and accommodated matters by a treaty. The farther growth of the king and of the kingdom was principally decided by a female slave, Thermusa, sent as a present from Augustus; Thermusa, wishing to ensure the succession to her own son, prevailed upon the king to send his four sons to Rome as hostages, under pretext of anticipating domestic troubles, 18.—After this which now became frequent, the Parthian kings found it a convenient mode of ridding themselves of dangerous pretors, while the Romans knew how to make the proper use of them.—Thermusa's son having grown up, she put away her son, and seated on the throne Phraataces, under the name Arsaces XVI; he was, however, put to death by the Parthians, A. D. 4; they at first gave the crown to one of the Arsaces, Orodes II, (Arsaces XVII.) who was, however, immediately afterward slain by reason of his cruelty. In consequence, Ptolemy I. the eldest of the sons of Phraates sent to Rome, was brought back and placed on the throne (Arsaces XVIII.); but that prince having brought with him Roman customs and luxury, was deposed, A. D. 14, with the assistance of the northern nomads, Artabanus III. (Arsaces XIX.) *d.* 44, a distant relation: the latter took possession of the vacant throne of Armenia, but was afterward driven from thence likewise by his rival. Tiberius took advantage of the consequent disorders to send Germanicus to the east, A. D. 17, from whence he was never to return. The remainder of Artabanus's reign was very stormy, Tiberius on the one hand taking advantage of the factions between the Parthians to support pretenders to the crown; the revolts of the nomads, on the other hand, giving proof of the declension of the Parthian power. After his death war raged between his sons; Artabanus II. (Arsaces XX.) *d.* 47, made good his pretensions to the crown, and took North Media, (Atropatene;) he was succeeded by his elder brother Gotarzes, (Arsaces XXI.) *d.* 50, to whom Claudius unsuccessfully opposed Meherdates, who was taken as an hostage at Rome. Arsaces XXII. (Vonones II.) reigned, after a reign of a few months, by Arsaces XXIII. (Tiridates I.) *d.* 90. The possession of the Armenian throne, which was by this prince to his brother Tiridates, by the Romans to

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Tigranes, grandson of Herod the Great, excited a series of disputes, which began so early as the reign of Claudius, A. D. 52, and under Nero broke out into open war, waged with some success on the Roman side by Corbulo, 56—64, and closed by Tiridates going, after the death of Tigranes, to Rome, and there accepting the crown of Armenia as a gift at the hands of Nero, 65. Arsaces XXIV. (Pacorus,) *d.* 107, contemporary of Domitian. All that we know of him is, that he embellished the city of Ctesiphon. Arsaces XXV. (Cosroes,) *d.* about 121. The claims to the throne of Armenia implicated him in a war with Trajan, 114, during which Armenia, together with Mesopotamia and Assyria, were converted into Roman provinces. Trajan's consequent and successful inroad into the interior parts of the Parthian dominions, 115—116, followed by the capture of Ctesiphon, and the appointment of Parthaspates as king, appears to have been facilitated by the domestic commotions and civil wars which had for a long time harassed the empire. Nevertheless, in the following year, 117, Hadrian was compelled to give up all the conquered country; the Euphrates was again acknowledged as the boundary; Parthaspates was appointed king of Armenia; and Cosroes, who had taken refuge in the upper satrapies, was reinstated on the throne, of which he seems to have kept ever after quiet possession. Arsaces XXVI. (Vologeses II.) *d.* 149. Parthia under his reign, and Rome under that of Antoninus Pius, remained on good terms. Arsaces XXVII. (Vologeses III.) *d.* 191. Under the reign of this king, the contemporary of Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus, the war with Rome was again kindled, 161, by Verus, and carried on in Armenia and Syria; Cassius, the legate of Verus, at last got possession of Seleucia, and demolished that city, 165.—Arsaces XXVIII. (Ardawan or Vologeses IV.) *d.* 207. This king having taken the part of Pescennius Niger, in the war between him and Septimius Severus, was, after the defeat of his friend, 194, routed in a war with Septimius Severus, 197, and the chief towns of Parthia were sacked by the invaders. He is, without authority, represented as succeeded by a Pacorus, who took the name of Arsaces XXIX.: his real successor, however, appears to have been Arsaces XXIX. (Vologeses V.) *d.* 216. Domestic wars among his sons, fomented by Caracalla. Arsaces XXX. (Artabanus IV.) At the beginning of his reign, this prince likewise was contemporary of Caracalla, who, in order to pick a quarrel, demanded his daughter in marriage; according to some, Arsaces refused

r, in consequence of which, the Roman emperor undertook a campaign into Armenia; according to others, Arsaces having assisted, and escorted his daughter to Caracalla, was, by an abominable stroke of treachery, cut off, together with all his train, B. C. 216. Caracalla having been murdered, 217, his successor, Macrinus, signed a peace with the Parthians. But Arsaces subsequently raised his brother Tiridates to the throne of Armenia; his act spurred the Persian Artaxerxes, son of Sassan, to rebellion; the Parthian king, defeated in three battles, fell in the last, thus putting a period to the family and dominion of the Arsacidæ, 226, and Artaxerxes became the founder of the New Persian kingdom, or that of the Sassanidæ. The revolution was accompanied not only with a change of dynasty, but with a total subversion of the constitution.

VAILLANT, *Imperium Arsacidarum et Achæmenidarum*, Paris, 1725, 2 vols. 4to. The first part comprises the Arsacidæ; the second the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, and Bosphorus. It is an essay, not wholly faultless, towards arranging, by the assistance of coins, the line of kings.

† C. F. RICHTER, *Historico-critical essay upon the dynasties of the Arsacidæ and Sassanidæ, according to the Persian, Grecian, and Roman authorities*. A prize essay. Leipzig, 1804. A comparative research into the eastern and western sources; the chronology in the above sketch has been corrected by this work, in conjunction with

TH. CHR. TYCHSEN, *Commentationes de Nummis Persarum et Arsacidarum*; inserted in *Commentat. Nov. Soc. Sc. Gotting.* vol. i. iii.

5. The Bactrian kingdom arose nearly at the same time as the Parthian, 354; its origin, however, was of a different nature,—the independence of this state being asserted by the Grecian governor, who was consequently succeeded by Greeks;—its duration likewise was much shorter, extending from B. C. 254 to B. C. 126. Scarce any fragments have been preserved of the history of this empire, the borders of which appear at one time to have extended to the banks of the Ganges, and the frontiers of China.

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Founder of the empire, Diodatus or Theodotus I. B. C. 254; he threw off his allegiance to the Syrian king, under Antiochus II. He appears to have been lord not only of Bactria, but also of Sogdiana. He likewise threatened the Parthians; after his decease, 243, his son and successor, Theodotus II. signed peace and alliance with Arsaces II. but was nevertheless deprived of his crown by Euthydemus of Magnesia, about 221. Antiochus the Great, at the conclusion of the Parthian war, directed his arms against Euthydemus, 209—206; the contest ended in a peace, by which Euthydemus, after delivering up his elephants, was not only left in possession of the crown, but was allied to the Syrian family by the marriage of his son Demetrius with a daughter of Antiochus. Demetrius, though a great conqueror, does not seem to have been king of Bactria; his dominions comprised, it is probable, North India and Malabar, whose history now becomes closely connected with that of Bactria, although consisting of mere fragments. The throne of Bactria fell to Menander, who extended his conquests as far as Serica, while Demetrius was establishing his dominion in India, where, about this time, several Greek states seem to have existed, the result, it may be supposed, of the expedition of Antiochus III. 305. Menander was succeeded, about 181, by Eucratidas, under whose reign the Bactrian empire attained to its greatest extension; after defeating the Indian king, Demetrius, who had been the aggressor, he, with the assistance of the Parthian conqueror, Mithridates, (Arsaces VI.) annexed India to his own empire, 148. On his return, he was murdered by his son, the same, probably, that is mentioned afterward by the name of Eucratidas II. He was the ally of Demetrius II. of Syria, and the main instigator of his expedition against the Parthians, 142; Demetrius being defeated by Arsaces VI. Eucratidas was, in consequence, deprived of a portion of his territory; overpowered soon after by the nomad races of Central Asia, the Bactrian empire fell to the ground, and Bactria itself, together with the other countries this side of the Oxus, became a prey to the Parthians.

TH. SIEG. BAYER, *Historia regni Græcorum Bactriani*. Petropol. 1738. 4to. The few fragments are in this work collected with industry and arranged with skill.

Kingdom of
the Jews.

6. The renewed kingdom of the Jews was likewise a fragment of the Macedonian monarchy, and although it ranked only with the smaller

states, its history in various respects deserves our attention, few nations having had so powerful an influence on the progress of human civilization.

The foundation of the independence of the Jews was not, it is true, laid before the year 167; yet their domestic constitution had previously assumed its main features, and their history, reckoning from the return from the Babylonian captivity, accordingly divides into four periods:

1. Under the Persian supremacy, 536—323.
2. Under the Ptolemeys and Seleucidæ, 323—167.
3. Under the Maccabees, 167—39.
4. Under the Herodians and Romans, B. C. 39. to A. D. 70.

First period under the Persians. By permission from Cyrus, a colony of Jews belonging to the stocks of Benjamin, Judah, and Levi, returned to the land of their forefathers, 536: this colony, headed by Zerobabel, of the ancient royal family, and the high priest Joshua, consisted of about 42,000 souls; the far more important and wealthy portion of the nation preferred to remain on the other side of the Euphrates, where they had been settled for seventy years, and continued to be a numerous people. The new settlers found it difficult to keep their footing, principally in consequence of differences produced by the intolerance they themselves evinced at the building of the temple, with their neighbours and kinsmen, the Samaritans, to whom the colony was only a cause of expense. The Samaritans, subsequently, having erected a separate temple at Garizim, near Sichem, about 336, not only separated completely, but laid the foundation of an inveterate hatred between the two nations. Hence the prohibition to rebuild the city and temple, brought about by their means, under Cambyses, 529, and Smerdis, 522, and not taken off until 520, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis. The new colony received a permanent internal constitution under Ezra and Nehemiah, and not before; they both brought in fresh colonists, the former in 478, the latter in 445. The country was under the dominion of satraps of Syria; but in the increasing domestic declension of the Persian empire, the high priests gradually became the virtual rulers of the nation. Nevertheless, even at the time of

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Alexander's conquest, 332, the Jews seem to have manifested proofs of fidelity to the Persians.

Second period under the Ptolemeys and Seleucida, 323—167. After the death of Alexander, Palastine, in consequence of its situation, generally shared the fate of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, (see above, p. 246.) being annexed to Syria.—Capture of Jerusalem, and transplantation of a vast colony of Jews to Alexandria by Ptolemy I. 312; from thence they spread to Cyrene, and gradually over the whole of North Africa, and penetrated even into Æthiopia. From 311—301 the Jews remained, however, subject to Antigonus. After the overthrow of his empire, they remained, 301—203, under the dominion of the Ptolemeys; the most notorious of their high priests during this interval were Simon the Just, *d.* 291, and afterward his son, Onias I. *d.* 218, who, by withholding the tribute due to Ptolemy III. exposed Judæa to imminent danger.—In the second war of Antiochus the Great against Egypt, 203, the Jews, of their own free will, acknowledged themselves his subjects, and assisted in driving out the Egyptian troops, who, under their general, Scopas, had again possessed themselves of the country and citadel of Jerusalem, 198. Antiochus confirmed the Jews in the possession of all their privileges; and although he promised their country, together with Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, as a future dowry of his daughter, Judæa still remained under the Syrian supremacy; only that the revenue was for a time divided between the Syrian and Egyptian kings.—The high priests and self-chosen ethnarchs or alabarchs were at the head of the people; and now for the first time mention is made of a senate, the sanhedrim. But the rout of Antiochus the Great by the Romans was also the remote cause of the subsequent misfortunes of the Jews. The consequent dearth of money in which the Syrian kings found themselves, and the riches of the temple treasures, the accumulation of the sacred income and gifts, made the office of high priest an object of purchase under Antiochus Epiphanes: hence arose quarrels between the pontifical families, and out of those sprung factions, which Antiochus Epiphanes was desirous to turn to his own account, by the introduction of Grecian institutions among the Jews, in order thereby to promote the subjection of that people, now raised by its privileges almost to the rank of a state within that of Syria. Deposition of the high priest, Onias III. 175; his brother Jason having obtained the tiara by purchase, and the introduction of Grecian institutes

Jason, however, was, 172, in his turn, supplanted by his brother Menelaus. During the civil war arising out of these events, Antiochus Epiphanes, at that time conqueror in Egypt, (see above, p. 239.) takes possession of Jerusalem, 170, being provoked by the behaviour of the Jews to Menelaus, the high priest of his own appointment: the consequent oppression of the Jews, who now were to be Grecised by main force, soon occasioned the rise under the Maccabees.

Third period under the Maccabees, 167—39. Commencement of rebellion against Antiochus IV. brought about by the priest Mattathias, 167, almost immediately succeeded, 166—161, by his son Judas Maccabæus. Supported by the fanaticism of his party, Judas defeats in several battles the generals of Antiochus, who was absent in Upper Asia, where he died, 164; the Jewish leader is said to have been already backed by the favour of Rome. The primitive object of the insurrection was not, however, political independence; they fought only for religious freedom. Under Antiochus V. the sedition continued successful, both against the Syrian king and the high priest Alcimus, his creature, 163; Judas having died soon after his defeat by Demetrius I. was succeeded by his brother Jonathan, 161—143. The death of the high priest, Alcimus, 160, opened the path of Jonathan to that office, which he received in the ensuing war between Demetrius I. and Alexander Balas, 143, (see above, p. 240, 241.) both rivals courting his alliance: Jonathan sided with Balas, and consequently from being merely the leader of a party, came to be head of the nation, which still, nevertheless, continued to pay tribute to the kings. Notwithstanding the favour he had shown to Balas, after the overthrow of that pretender, he was confirmed in his dignity by Demetrius I. 145; to whose assistance he marched at the subsequent great revolt in Antioch. Jonathan, however, in 144, passed over to the side of the usurper, Antiochus, Balas's son, (see above, p. 241.) he was by embassy presented with the friendship of the Romans in the same year, 144; but by the treachery of Tryphon was taken and put to death, 143. His brother and successor, Simon, 143—135, having declared against Tryphon, was by Demetrius II. not only confirmed in his dignity, but dispensed from tribute; he likewise received the title of prince, (ethnarch;) and appears to have struck coins. After the capture of Demetrius, Antiochus Sidetes suffered Simon to remain in possession of those privileges so long as he stood in need of his assistance against Tryphon;

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but after the death of that usurper, he caused him, 130, to be attacked by Cendebeus, whom Simon's son defeated. Simon having been murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemaeus, who aspired to the government, 135, was succeeded by his own son, John Hyrcanus, 135—107, who was compelled again to acknowledge submission to Antiochus Sidetes; but after the defeat and death of that prince by the Parthians, 130, asserted his entire independence. The deep decline of the Syrian kingdom, the constant civil wars by which it was distracted, and the renewed league with the Romans, not only enabled Hyrcanus easily to maintain his independence, but likewise to increase his territory, by the conquest of the Samaritans and Idumæans. But with him ended the heroic line. Hardly delivered from foreign oppression, domestic broils arose; the Pharisees and Sadducees had hitherto been mere religious sects, but were converted into political factions by Hyrcanus, who, offended with the Pharisees, probably in consequence of their wish to separate the pontifical and princely offices, went over to the Sadducees; the former sect, the orthodox, as usual, were supported by the many; the latter, the innovators, in consequence of the laxity of their principles, were favoured by the wealthy. Hyrcanus's eldest son, the cruel Aristobulus, 107, assumed the royal title, but having died so early as 106, was succeeded by his younger brother, Alexander Jannæus, 106—79. His reign was an almost unbroken series of insignificant wars with his neighbours, the prince wishing to play the conqueror; having likewise had the imprudence to irritate the powerful party of the Pharisees, they made him the object of public insult, and so excited a tumult, 92, which was followed by a bloody civil war, sixty years in duration. Jannæus, it is true, maintained himself during the struggle; but the opposite party was so far from being annihilated, that, at his death, when passing over his sons, the feeble Hyrcanus (who possessed the pontifical dignity) and the ambitious Aristobulus, he bequeathed the crown to his widow Alexandra, it was with the understanding that she should pass over to the Pharisees: during her reign, therefore, 79—71, the Pharisees held the tiller of government, and left but the name to the queen. Provoked at this, Aristobulus, shortly before the death of the queen, endeavoured to obtain possession of the throne, and ultimately obtained his ends, notwithstanding Alexandra nominated Hyrcanus to be her successor. At the instigation of his confidant, the Idumæan Antipater, progenitor of the Herodians, Hyrcanus, assisted

by the Arabian prince Aretas, waged war against his brother, 65, and shut him up in Jerusalem: but the Romans were arbitrators, and Pompey, then all-powerful in Asia, decided for Hyrcanus, 64; the party of Aristobulus, however, refusing to accede, the Roman general took possession of Jerusalem; made Hyrcanus high priest and prince, under condition that he should pay tribute; and took as prisoners to Rome Aristobulus and his sons, who, however, subsequently escaped and caused great troubles. The Jewish state now dependent on Rome, remained so, and the policy was confirmed by the policy of Antipater and his sons, who followed the general maxim of entire devotion to Rome, in order thereby to succeed in wholly removing the reigning family. So early as 48, Antipater was, by Cæsar, whom he had supported at Alexandria, appointed procurator of Judæa; and his second son Herod, governor in Galilæa, soon became sufficiently powerful to threaten Hyrcanus and the sanhedrim, 45. He gained the favour of Antony, and so maintained himself amid the tempests which, after the assassination of Cæsar, 44, shook the Roman world, powerful as the party opposed to the strangers was: that party, however, at last, in lieu of the hapless Hyrcanus, the only surviving son of Aristobulus, placed at their head Antigonus, and, assisted by the Parthians, then flourishing in power, seated him on the throne, 39. Herod having fled to Rome, not only met with a gracious reception at the hands of the triumviri, but was by them appointed king.

Fourth period under the Herodians, B. C. 39 to A. D. 70. Herod the Great, B. C. 39 to A. D. 1. put himself in possession of Jerusalem and all Judæa, B. C. 37, and confirmed his power by marrying Mariamne of the house of the Maccabees. Notwithstanding his severity shown to the party of Antigonus, and the house of the Maccabees, the total obliteration of which Herod deemed necessary for his own safety; yet so greatly did the wasted country stand in need of peace, that for that very reason his reign may be predicated to have been a happy one. Availing himself of the liberality of Augustus, whose favour he contrived, after the defeat of Antony, B. C. 31, to obtain, Herod gradually increased the extent of his kingdom, which at last comprised Judæa, Samaria, Galilæa, and beyond the Jordan, Peræa, Idumæa, and Trachonitis, (that is to say, the whole of Palæstine,) together with Idumæa; from these countries he derived his income without being held to pay any tribute. The deference subsequently shown by Herod to Rome, was but the effect of a

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natural policy, and his conduct in that respect could be objected to him only by bigoted Jews. To his whole family, rather than to himself individually, are to be attributed the executions which took place among its members; happy had it been if the sword had smitten none but the guilty and spared the innocent. In the last year but one of his reign is placed the birth of Christ².—According to his will, with some few alterations made by Augustus, his kingdom was divided among his three surviving sons; Archelaus, as ethnarch, receiving the greater moiety, Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa; the two others, as tetrarchs, Philip a part of Galilæa and Trachonitis, Antipas the other part of Galilæa, and Peræa, together with Ituræa; subsequently to which division, the various parts did not, in consequence, all share the same fate.—Archelaus, by misgovernment, lost his portion as early as A. D. 6; Judæa and Samaria were consequently annexed as a Roman province to Syria, and placed under procurators subordinate to the Syrian governors: among these procurators, the most notorious is Pontius Pilate, about A. D. 27—36, under whom the founder of our religion appeared and suffered, not as a political—although accused of being so—but as a moral reformer. On the other hand, Philip reigned in his tetrarchy until the day of his death, A. D. 34, when his country had the same lot with Judæa and Samaria. Soon after, that is to say, in A. D. 37, it was, however, given by Caligula, with the title of king, to Agrippa, grandson of Herod of Aristobulus, as a recompense for his attachment to the family of Germanicus; Agrippa deposed Antipas, notwithstanding he wished for a treaty, 39, and having annexed his tetrarchy, 40, to his own kingdom, and shortly afterward the former territory of Archelaus, possessed, consequently, the whole of Palæstine. Agrippa having died in A. D. 44, the whole country being appended to Syria, became a Roman province, and received procurators, although Chalcis, 49, and subsequently also, 53, Philip's tetrarchy, were restored as a kingdom to his son Agrippa II. *d.* 90. The oppression of the procurators, and of Gessius Florus in particular, who obtained the office, A. D. 64, spurred the Jews to rebellion, which, 70, ended in the capture and destruction of their capital and temple by Titus.

² That is to say, according to the usually adopted computation, made in the sixth century by Dionysius the Little. The more accurate calculations of modern chronologists show that the real date of the Saviour's birth probably was four years earlier.

The spread of the Jews over the whole civilized world of those days, although previously commenced, was by this event still increased; and at the same time the extension of Christianity was prepared and facilitated. Even after the conquest Jerusalem not only continued to exist as a city, but was also still considered by the nation as a point of union; and the attempt, under Adrian, to establish a Roman colony there produced a fearful sedition.

BASNAGE, *Histoire des Juifs depuis J. C. jusqu'à present*. La Haye, 1716. 15 vols. 12mo. The first two parts only, properly speaking, belong to this period; but the others likewise contain several very valuable historical researches.

PRIDEAUX, *The Old and New Testament connected in the history of the Jews and their neighbouring nations*. Lond. 1714. 2 vols. This work, together with that above quoted, have always been esteemed the grand books on the subject. The French translation of Prideaux's *Connexion* is, by its arrangement, more convenient for use than the original: this translation was published at Amsterdam, 1722, 5 vols. 8vo. under the title of PRIDEAUX, *Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins depuis la décadence des Royaumes d'Israel et de Juda, jusqu'à la mort de J. C.*

† J. D. MICHAELIS, *Translation of the Books of Esdras, Nehemiah, and Maccabees*, contains in the observations several historical discussions of high importance.

† J. REMOND, *Essay towards a history of the spread of Judaism, from Cyrus to the total decline of the Jewish state*. Leipzig, 1789. The industrious work of a young man.

To the works enumerated p. 34, 35, must be added for the more ancient history of the Jews:

J. L. BAUER, *Manual of the history of the Hebrew nation, from its rise to the destruction of its state*. Nuremberg, 1800. 2 parts, 8vo. As yet the best critical introduction, not only to the history, but also to the antiquities of the nation.

† In the works of J. J. HESS, belonging to this subject, namely, *History of Moses*; *History of Joshua*; *History of the Rulers of Judah*, 2 parts; *History of the Kings of Judah and Israel*: the history is throughout considered in a theocratic point of view.

FIFTH BOOK.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN STATE

Geographical preliminaries on Ancient Italy.

General
outline of
Italy.

ITALY constitutes a peninsula, bounded on the north by the Alps, on the west and south by the Mediterranean, on the east by the Adriatic sea. Its greatest length from north to south is 600 g. miles; its greatest breadth, taken at the foot of the Alps, is 320 g. miles; but that of the peninsula, properly so called, is equal to 120 g. miles. Superficial contents, 81,920 sq. g. miles. The principal mountain range is the Apennines, which, diverging ever and anon to the west or east, stretch from north to south athwart Central and Lower Italy. In the earlier times of Rome, those mountains were covered with thick forests. Main streams: the Padus (Po) and the Athesis, (Adige,) both of which discharge their waters in the Adriatic; and the Tiberis, (Tiber,) which falls into the Mediterranean. The soil, particularly in the plains, is of the most fertile in Europe; on the other hand, many of the mountain tracts admit but of little cultivation. In that period when the Mediterranean was the grand theatre of trade, Italy, by her situation, seemed destined to become the principal mart of Europe; but she never in ancient times availed herself sufficiently of this advantage.

Division into *Upper* Italy, from the Alps to the small rivers of Rubicon and Macra; (this part, however, of Italy, until presented with the right of citizenship under Cæsar, was, according to the Roman political geography, considered as a province;) into *Central* Italy, from the Rubicon and the Macra down to the Silarus and Frento; and into *Lower* Italy from those rivers to the southern land's end.

1. *Upper Italy comprises the two countries, Gallia Cisalpina and Liguria.*

1. Gallia Cisalpina, or Togata, in contradistinction of Gallia Transalpina. It bears the name of Gallia, in consequence of being for the most part occupied by Gallic races. This country is one continuous plain, divided by the Padus into two parts, the northernmost of which is therefore denominated Gallia Transpadana, (inhabited by the Taurini, Insubres, and Cenomani,) while the southernmost part (inhabited by the Boii, Senones, and Lingones) is known by the name of Gallia Cispadana. Various streams contribute to swell the Padus; from the north, the Duria, (Durance,) the Ticinus, (Tessino,) the Addua, (Adda,) the Ollius, (Oglio,) the Mintius, (Minzio,) and several lesser rivers; from the south, the Tanarus, (Tanaro,) the Trebia, etc. The Athesis, (Adige,) the Plavis, (Piave,) and a number of smaller mountain streams, roll their waters directly into the Adriatic.

The cities in Gallia Cisalpina were, generally speaking, Roman colonies; and most of them

have preserved to this day their ancient names. Among these are reckoned in Gallia Transpadana, principally, Tergeste, Aquileia, Patavium, (Padua,) Vincentia, Verona, all east of the Athesis; Mantua, Cremona, Brixia, (Brescia,) Mediolanum, (Milan,) Ticinum, (Pavia,) and Augusta Taurinorum, (Turin,) all west of the Athesis. In Gallia Cispadana we meet with Ravenna, Bononia, (Bologna,) Mutina, (Modena,) Parma, Placentia, (Piacenza). Several of the above places received municipal rights from the Romans.

Liguria.

2. Liguria. This country deduced its name from the Ligures, one of the old Italic stocks: it extended from the river Varus, by which it was divided from Gallia Transalpina, down to the river Macra; northward it extended to the Padus, and comprised the modern territory of Genoa.—Cities: Genua, an extremely ancient place; Nicæa, (Nice,) a colony of Massilia; and Asta, (Asti.)

II. *Central Italy comprises six countries; Etruria, Latium, and Campania on the west; Umbria, Picenum, and Samnium on the east.*

Etruria.

1. Etruria, Tuscia, Tyrrhenia, was bounded north by the Macra, which divided it from Liguria; south and east by the Tiberis, which separated it from Latium and Umbria. Main river, the Arnus, (Arno). It is for the most part a mountainous country; the seashore only is level. This country derives its name from the Etrusci, a very ancient people, composed, it is probable, from an amalgamation of several races, and even some early Grecian colonies, to which latter they

were indebted, not indeed for all their arts, but for that of writing; to commerce and navigation the Etrusci were indebted for their opulence and consequent magnificence. Cities: between the Macra and Arnus, Pisæ, (Pisa,) Florentia, Fæsure; between the Arnus and Tiberis, Volaterræ, (Volterra,) Volsinii, (Bolsena,) on the lacus Volturniensis, (Lago di Bolsena,) Clusium, (Chiusi,) Arretium, (Arrezzo,) Cortona, Perusia, (Perugia,) in the neighbourhood of which is the Lacus Thraimenes, (Lago di Perugia,) Falerii, (Falari,) and the wealthy city of Veii. Each of the above twelve cities had its own individual ruler, *lucumo*; although frequent associations were formed among them, yet no firm and lasting bond seems to have united the nation into one.

2. Latium, properly the residence of the Latini, Latium.
from the Tiberis north, to the promontory of Circeii, south; hence that country was likewise denominated Latium Vetus. Subsequently, under the name of Latium was likewise reckoned the country from Circeii, down to the river Liris, (Latium Novum;) so that the boundaries came to be, north, the Tiberis, south, the Liris: the seat of the Latins, properly speaking, was in the fruitful plain extending from the Tiber to Circeii; around them, however, dwelt various small tribes, some eastward, in the Apennines; such as the Hernici, Sabini, Æqui, and Marsi; others southward, such as the Volsci, Rutuli, and Aurunci.—Rivers: the Anio (Teverone) and Allia, which fall into the Tiber, and the Liris, (Garigliano,) which disembogues in the Mediterranean. Cities in Latium Vetus: Rome, Tibur, Tusculum, Alba

Longa, Ostia, Lavinium, Antium, Gabii, Velitræ, the capital of the Volsci, and several smaller places. In Latium Novum: Fundi, Terracina, or Anxur, Arpinum, Minturnæ, Formiæ.

Campania. 3. *Campania.* The country lying between the Liris, north, and the Silarus, south. One of the most fruitful plains in the world, but at the same time greatly exposed to volcanic eruptions. Rivers: the Liris, the Volturnus, (Voltorno,) the Silarus, (Selo). Mountain: Vesuvius. *Campania* derived its name from the race of the *Campani*. Cities: the capital, Capua; likewise Linternum, Cumæ, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, Nola, Surrentum, Salernum, etc.

The three eastern countries of Central Asia are as follows:

Umbria. 1. *Umbria.* Its bounds are marked, north, by the river Rubico, south, by the river *Æsis*, (Gesano,) dividing it from *Picenum*, and by the *Nar*, (Nera,) dividing it from the Sabine territory. It is for the most part plain. The Umbrian race had in early times spread over a much larger portion of Italy. Cities: Ariminum, (Rimini,) Spoletium, (Spoleto,) Narnia, (Narni,) and Otriculum, (Otricoli.)

Picenum. 2. *Picenum.* Bounded, north, by the *Æsis*, south, by the Atarnus, (Pescara.) The people are called *Picentes*. This country consists in a fertile plain. Cities: Ancona and Asculum Picenum, (Ascoli.)

Samnium. 3. *Samnium*, the name of the mountain tract stretching from the Atarnus, north, to the Frento, south; although that country reckoned among its

inhabitants, not only the rude and powerful Samnites, but also several less numerous races; for instance, the Marrucini and Peligni in the north, the Frentani in the east, and the Hirpini in the south. Rivers: the Sagrus and the Tifernus. Cities: Allifæ, Beneventum, and Caudium.

III. *Lower Italy, or Magna Grecia, comprised four countries; Lucania and Bruttium on the western side, Apulia and Calabria on the eastern side.*

1. Lucania. Boundaries: north, the Silarus, Lucania. south, the Laus. For the most part a mountain tract. It derived its name from the race of the Lucani, a branch of the Ausones, or chief nation of Lower Italy. Cities: Pæstum, or Posidonia, still renowned for its ruins, and Helia, or Velia.

2. Bruttium, (the modern Calabria,) or the Bruttium. western tongue of land from the river Laus to the southern land's end at Rhegium. The river Brandanus constitutes the eastern frontier. A mountainous country, deriving its name from the Bruttii, (a half savage branch of the Ausones,) who dwelt in the mountains, while the seashores were occupied with Grecian settlements. Cities: Consentia, (Cosenza,) Pandosia, Mamertum, and Petilia. (Concerning the Greek colonies see above, p. 154.)

3. Apulia. The country ranging along the Apulia. eastern coast, from the river Frento to the commencement of the eastern tongue of land; an extremely fertile plain, and particularly adapted to grazing cattle. Rivers: the Aufidus (Ofanto) and the Cerebalus. This country is divided into two parts by the Aufidus, the northern called Apulia

Daunia, the southern called Apulia Peucetia. Cities : in Apulia Daunia ; Sipontum and Luceria : in Apulia Peucetia ; Barium, Cannæ, and Venusia.

Calabria.

4. Calabria or Messapia, the smaller eastern tongue of land, which terminates in the promontory Japygium. Cities : Brundisium (Brindisi) and Callipolis (Gallipoli). Concerning Tarentum and other Grecian colonies see above, p. 154.

Three large islands are likewise reckoned as appertaining to Italy : they are Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. According to the political geography of the Romans they were, however, considered as provinces. Although the above islands were, along the coast, occupied by aliens, the aboriginals, under their own kings, maintained a footing in the inland parts ; among these the Siculi, said to have migrated from Italy, were the most notorious ; they remained in Sicily, and gave their name to the whole island. Concerning the cities, the more important of which were, some of Phœnician, but the most part of Grecian, origin ; see above, p. 30, and p. 155, sqq.

FIRST PERIOD.

From the foundation of Rome to the conquest of Italy and the commencement of the wars with Carthage, B. C. 754—264, or A. U. C. 1—490.

SOURCES. The most copious author, and, if we except his system of deducing everything connected with Rome from Greece, the one that wished to be the most critical of all those who have written on the most ancient history of Rome and Italy,

is Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in his *Archæologia*: of that work the first eleven books only have been preserved, reaching down to the year 443; to which, however, must be added the extracts from the nine following books, xii—xx. discovered in 1816, and published by the abbé Mai of Milan. Correlative to Dionysius is Livy, to lib. iv. c. 18, from whence, to B. C. 292, the latter historian is our main source. Of the Lives of Plutarch the following belong to this period; namely, Romulus, Numa, Coriolanus, Poplicolo, and Camillus; for the knowledge and criticism of the sources, perhaps more important even than Livy and Dionysius, (see A. H. L. HEEREN, *De fontibus et auctoritate vitæ Plutarchi*, inserted in *Comment. Recentiores Soc. Scient. Gott. Comment. I. II. Græci, III. IV. Romani*; reprinted also as an appendix to the editions of Plutarch by Reiske and Hutten, *Göttingen*, 1821, *ap. Dieterich*). The sources of the most ancient Roman history were extremely various in kind. The traditions of the fathers were preserved in historical ballads; (no mention is ever made of any grand epopee;) and in this sense there existed a bardic history; by no means, however, wholly poetic, for even the traditions of Numa's institutes are without the characteristics of poesy. The art of writing was in Italy of earlier origin than the city of Rome; how far, consequently, the public annals, such as the *Libri Pontificum*, extended back in early time remains undetermined. Several of the memorials are, beyond a doubt, mere family records, whether preserved by vocal tradition or in written documents. To the above must be added monuments, not only buildings and works of art, but also treaties engraved on tables; of which, nevertheless, too little use seems to have been made. The Romans having learnt the art of writing from the Greeks, their history was as frequently written in Greek as in Latin; and that not only by Greeks, such as, in the first place, Diocles of Peparethus, but likewise by Romans, such as Fabius Pictor, at an early period. From these last sources Dionysius and Livy compiled. The more ancient Roman history given by these authorities rests, therefore, in part, but by no means entirely, on tradition and poesy; still farther amplified by the rhetoric style, that of the Greeks more especially. At what epocha the Roman history lays aside the poetic character can hardly be determined with certainty; it may be traced even in some parts of the period extending from the expulsion of the kings to the conquest by the Gauls.—For the purposes of chronology, great importance attaches to the *fasti Romani*, contained

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partly in inscriptions, (*fasti Capitolini*), partly in manuscripts. They have been collected and restored by Pighius, Noris, Sigonius, etc. in GRÆVII, *Thes. A. R.* vol. xi.; likewise in ALMELOVEEN, *Fast. Rom.* I. II. Amstel. 1705, etc.

PIGHII *Annales Romanorum*. Antwerp. 1615, fol. 2 vols. An essay towards a chronological arrangement: it reaches down to Vitellius.

The Roman history has been copiously treated of by the moderns in many works besides those on universal ancient history before enumerated, (p. 2.) We shall mention only the more important.

ROLLIN, *Histoire Romaine, depuis la foundation de Rome jusqu' à la bataille d'Actium*. 13 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1823, édit. revue par Letronne. This history, which extends to B. C. 80, has been continued and terminated by CREVIER. Although criticism might suggest much in this work, it was by it that the study was exalted.

ED. FERGUSON, *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*. London, 1783. 4to. On the whole, the best work on the history of the Roman republic; it has superseded the earlier work of GOLDSMITH.

P. CH. LEVESQUE, *Histoire de la République Romaine*, 3 vols. Paris, 1807. He who would still wish to admire with blind enthusiasm the glory of Rome, had better not read this work.

B. G. NIEBUHR, *Roman History*.

Rather criticism than history; with constant endeavours to overthrow all that heretofore has been admitted. The spirit of acuteness is not always that of truth; and men do not so lightly assent to the existence of a constitution which not only is contrary to the broad view of antiquity—inferences drawn from some insulated passages not being sufficient to overturn what is corroborated by all the others—but likewise, according to the author's own avowal, stands opposed to all analogy in history. But truth gains even where the criticism is wrong; and the value of some deep researches will not for that reason be overlooked.—For the demonstration:

† W. WACHSMUTH, *Researches into the more Ancient History of Rome*. Halle, 1819.

C. F. TH. LACHMANN, *Commentatio de fontibus T. Livii a prima Historiarum Decade*. Gottingæ, 1821. A prize essay.

For the works upon the Roman constitution see below, at the end of this and at the beginning of the third period.

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Abundance of most important writings upon Roman antiquities will be found in the great collections:

GRÆVII *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*. Lugd. Batav. 1694, sq. 12 vols. fol. and likewise in

SALENGRE, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*. Venet. 1732. 3 vols. fol.

Many excellent papers, particularly in
Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions.

With the exception of NARDINI, *Roma Vetus*, inserted in GRÆVII *Thes.* A. R. t. iv. the best work on the topography of ancient Rome is

VENUTI, *Descrizione Topografica delle Antichità di Roma*. P. I. II. Roma, 1763; and especially the new edition of that work by VISCONTI, 1803. There is also:

† S. H. L. ADLER, *Description of the city of Rome*. Altona, 1781, 4to.

The best representation of the monuments of ancient Rome are found in

PIRANESI, *Antichità di Roma*, 3 vols. fol.

1. In certain respects, the history of Rome is always that of one town, inasmuch as to the period of the Cæsars inclusive, the city remained the mistress of her extensive territory. The main parts of the internal constitution of Rome were formed in this first period; which, considered in that historical point of view, can hardly be said to be void of interest. Whether every fundamental institution had its origin precisely at the pocha to which it is attributed, is a question of the importance; suffice it to say, that they certainly arose in this period; and that the steps by which the constitution was developed are, upon the whole, determined beyond the possibility of a doubt.

General
character-
istic of Ro-
man his-
tory.

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PERIOD.
Romans
of Latin
origin.

2. Exaggerated and embellished as the most ancient traditions of the Romans respecting their origin may be, they all agree in this, that the Romans belonged to the race of the Latini, and that their city was a colony of the neighbouring city of Alba Longa. Long before this the custom seems to have held with the Latini, of extending the cultivation of their country by colonies.

The primitive history of Rome is as difficult to reduce to pure historic truth as that of Athens, or of any other city of antiquity; this proceeds from its being principally founded on traditions, handled by poets and rhetors, and likewise differing from one another; as may be seen by Plutarch's *Romulus*. As the knowledge of those traditions, such as they are found in Dionysius and Livy, attaches to so many other subjects, it would be improper to pass them over in silence; and that they contained truths as well as poetic fictions is proved most evidently by the political institutions of which they narrate the origin, and which certainly reached back to those times. To attempt to draw the line of demarcation between mythical and historic times would be to demonstrate ignorance of the nature of mythology.

L. DE BEAUFORT, *Sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'histoire Romaine*, nouv. éd. à la Haye, 1750. 2 vols. 8vo. Every thing that can be said against the credibility of the primitive Roman history has been developed by Beaufort with abundant, and often with laboured, acuteness.

Kings of
Rome.

3. During the first 245 years subsequent to its foundation this city was under the rule of governors, denominated kings; these, however, were not hereditary, still less were they invested with unlimited power, although they exerted themselves to become both perpetual and absolute. On the contrary, in this period was framed a municipal constitution, demonstrative of the existence, even at this early date, of a considerable degree of political civilization; in its principal parts this constitution was, no doubt,—as in every

colony,—a copy of that of the mother city. Its principal features were : *a.* Establishment and internal organization of the senate. *b.* Establishment and progress of the patriciate or hereditary nobility, which, supported by the privilege of administering the sacred affairs, and by the introduction of family names, quickly formed, in opposition to the plebeians, a political party ever growing in power, although not, therefore, a mere sacerdotal caste. *c.* Organization of the people (*populus*), and modes of popular assembly (*comitia*), founded thereupon ; besides the original division according to heads into *tribus* and *curiæ*, another was subsequently introduced according to property into *classes* and *centuriæ*, out of which, besides the more ancient *comitia curiata*, arose the very artificially constructed *comitia centuriata*. *d.* Religious institutions, (*religiones*), which, being most closely connected with the political constitution, formed a state religion, by means of which everything in the state was attached to determined forms, and received a higher sanction. Nor must we omit *e.* the relations in private life established by law, the clientulate, marriage, and especially paternal authority. In consequence of those domestic relations, a spirit of subordination and discipline, from the earliest times, pervaded the people ; and to that spirit the Romans were indebted for the glory to which they attained.

4. Despite of many little wars with their immediate neighbours the Sabines, Æqui, and Volsci, with various cities of the Etrusci, and

Destruction
of Alba
Longa.

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PERIOD.

even with the Latins themselves, Rome added but little to her territory: nevertheless she took the first step towards her aggrandizement; from the time of the destruction of Alba Longa, she aimed at being the head of the collected cities of the Latins, and finally attained the object of her ambition.

B. C. 673.

Line of kings. Romulus, 754—717. First establishment of the colony; augmentation in the number of the citizens, produced by the establishment of an asylum, and an union with part of the Sabines. Numa Pompilius, *d.* 679. By representing this prince as the founder of the religion of the Roman state, that religion received the high sanction of antiquity. Tullus Hostilius, *d.* 640. The conquest and destruction of Alba lays the foundation of Roman supremacy in Latium. Ancus Martins, *d.* 618. He extends the territory of Rome to the sea; the foundation of the port of Ostia proves that Rome already applied to navigation, the object of which was perhaps as yet rather piracy than trade. Tarquinius Priscus, *d.* 578. A Grecian by descent. Under his conduct Rome was already able to enter the field against the confederate Etrusci. Servius Tullius, *d.* 534. The most remarkable in the line of Roman kings. He placed Rome at the head of the confederacy of the Latins, which he confirmed by *communia sacra*. On his new division of the people according to property were raised the highly important institutions of the *census* and *comitia centuriata*. The necessity of this measure is demonstrative of the vast prosperity of the Roman citizens; there can be no doubt, however, that by its adoption the frame of the republic was already completed. Tarquinius Superbus, (the tyrant,)—509. This individual, having taken forcible possession of the throne as nephew to Priscus, endeavoured to confirm his power by a close connexion with the Latins and Volsci; by this, as well as by his tyranny, he offended both the patrician and plebeian parties. His deposition, and the consequent reformation of the government, were however, properly speaking, brought about by the ambition of the patricians.

ALGAROTTI, *Saggio sopra la durata de' regni de' re di Roma*. (Op. t. iii.) Chronological doubts. Can the raising of difficulties deserve the name of criticism?

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Consular
government,
B. C. 509.

5. The only direct consequence to the internal constitution of Rome, proceeding from the abolition of royalty was, that that power, undetermined as it had been while in the hands of the kings, was transferred to two consuls, annually elected. Meanwhile the struggle for liberty, in which the new republic was engaged with the Etrusci and Latins, contributed much to arouse the republican spirit which henceforward was the main feature of the Roman character—the evils of popular rule being in times of need remedied by the establishment of the dictatorship. That party, however, which had deposed the ruling family, took wholly into their own hands the helm of the state; and the oppression of those aristocrats, known principally towards their debtors, who had become their slaves, (*nexi*), grew—notwithstanding the *lex de provocatione* established by Valerius Publicola, ensuring to the people the highest judicial power—became, I say, so galling, that after a lapse of a few years it gave rise to a sedition of the commons, (*plebis*), the consequence of which was the establishment of annually elected presidents of the people (*tribuni plebis*).

First commercial treaty with Carthage, 508, in which Rome appears certainly as a free state, but not yet as sovereign of all Italy; the most important monument of the authenticity of more ancient Roman history!

MEYNE, *Fœdera Carthaginiensium cum Romanis super navigatione et mercatura facta*: contained in his Opusc. t. iii. Cf. H. L. HEEREN, *Ideas*, etc. Appendix to the second vol.

6. The farther development of the Roman constitution in this period, hinges almost wholly on the struggle between the new presidents of the

Rise of the
Roman
constitution.

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commons and the hereditary nobility; the tribunes, instead of confining themselves to defend the people from the oppression of the nobles, soon came to act as aggressors; and in a short time overshot so widely the mark, that there remained no chance of putting an end to the struggle but by a complete equalization of rights. A long time elapsed ere this took place, the aristocracy finding too powerful a support both in the clientship and in the religion of the state, operating under the shape of auspices.

Main facts of the contest: 1. In the trial of Coriolanus the tribunes usurp the right of summoning some patricians before the tribunal of the people.—Thence arise the *comitia tributa*, that is to say, either mere assemblies of the commons, or assemblies so organized, that the commons had the preponderance; this institution gave to the tribunes that share in the legislation, subsequently of such high importance, those officers being allowed to lay proposals before the commons. 2. More equitable distribution among the poorer classes of the lands conquered from the neighbouring nations, (the most ancient *leges agrariae*,) suggested by the ambitious attempts of Cassius, 486. 3. Extension of the prerogatives of the *comitia tributa*, more especially in the election of the tribunes, brought about by Volero, 472. 4. Attempts at a legal limitation of the consular power by Terentillus, (*lex Terentilla*,) 460, which, after a long struggle, at last leads to the idea of one common written code, 452, which is likewise realized in despite of the opposition at first made by the patricians.

† CHR. F. SCHULZE, *Struggle between the Democracy and Aristocracy of Rome, or History of the Romans from the Expulsion of Tarquin to the Election of the first Plebeian Consul*. Altenburg, 1802, 8vo. The most satisfactory development of this portion of Roman history.

Code of the
twelve tables.

7. The code of the twelve tables confirmed the ancient institutions, and was in part perfected by the adoption of the laws of the Greek republics,

among which Athens in particular is mentioned, whose counsels were requested by a special deputation. In this, however, two faults were committed; not only were the commissaries charged to draw up the laws elected from the patricians *alone*, but they were likewise constituted sole magistrates, with *dictatorial* power, (*sine provocatone*;) thereby a path was opened to them for an usurpation, which could be frustrated only by a sedition of the people.

Duration of the power of the decemviri, 451—447. The doubts raised as to the deputation sent to Athens are not sufficient to invalidate the authenticity of an event so circumstantially detailed. Athens, under Pericles, was then at the head of Greece; and granting that it was intended to consult the Greek laws, it was impossible that Athens should have been passed over. And indeed, why should it be supposed, that a state which fifty years before had signed a commercial treaty with Carthage, and could not be unacquainted with the Grecian colonies in Lower Italy, might not have sent an embassy into Greece.

The yet remaining fragments of the code of the twelve tables are collected and illustrated in BACHII *Hist. Jurisprudentiæ Romanæ*; and in several other works.

8. By the laws of the twelve tables the legal relations of the citizens were the same for all, but as that code seems to have contained very little in reference to any peculiar constitution of the state, the government not only remained in the hands of the aristocrats, who were in possession of all offices, but the prohibition, according to the new laws of marriage between patricians and plebeians, appeared to have erected an impervious barrier between the two classes. No wonder, then, that the tribunes of the people should have renewed immediately their attacks on the patricians; particularly as the power of those popular

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leaders was not only renewed, but even augmented, and was limited only inasmuch as they were to be unanimous in their actions, each having the right of a negative.

Besides the other laws made in favour of the people at the renewal of the *tribunicia potestas*, 446, that which imported *ut quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret*, frequently renewed in subsequent times, and meaning, in modern language, that the citizens constituted themselves, must, it would appear, have thrown the supreme power in the hands of the people; did not the Roman history, like that of other free states, afford examples enough of the little authority there is to infer from the enactment of a law that it will be practically enforced.

Dissensions
between pa-
tricians and
plebeians.

9. The main subjects of the new dissensions between patricians and plebeians, excited by the tribune Canuleius, were now the *connubia patrum cum plebe*, and the exclusive participation of the patricians in the consulship, of which the tribunes demanded the abolition. The repeal of the former law was obtained so early as 445, (*lex Canuleia*;) right of participation to the plebeians in the consulship was not obtained till after a struggle annually renewed for eighty years; during which, when, as usually was the case, the tribunes forbade the military enrolment, recourse was had to a transfer of the consular power to the yearly elected commanders of the legions; a place to which plebeians were entitled to aspire. (tribuni militum consulari potestate.)—Establishment of the office of CENSORS, designed at first to be nothing more than individuals invested with full authority for the mechanical operation of taking the census, but who soon after, by assuming to themselves the *censura morum*, took rank among the most important dignitaries of the state.

Censors.

10. Meanwhile Rome was engaged in wars, insignificant but almost uninterrupted, arising out of the oppression, either real or imaginary, which she evinced as head of the neighbouring federate cities, (*socii*;) comprising not only those of the Latins, but likewise, after the victory of lake Regillus, of the other nations: the cities grasped every opportunity to assert their independence, and the consequent struggles must have depopulated Rome, had not that evil been diverted by the maxim of increasing the complement of citizens by admitting the freedmen, and not unfrequently even the conquered, to civic privilege. Little as these feuds, abstractedly considered, deserve our attention, yet are they an object of interest, inasmuch as they were not only the instruments by which the nation was trained to war, but also led to the foundation of that senatorial power, the great results of which will hereafter be displayed.

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Petty wars.

Among these wars the attention must be directed to the last, that against Veii, the richest city in Etruria; the siege of that place, which lasted pretty nearly ten years, 404—395, gave rise to the introduction among the Roman military of winter campaigning, and of pay; thus, on the one hand, the prosecution of wars more distant and protracted became possible, while on the other the consequences must have been the levy of higher taxes, (*tributa*).

11. Not long after, however, a tempest from the north had nearly uprooted Rome. Pressed out of northern Italy athwart Etruria, the Senonian Gauls possessed themselves of the city, the capitol excepted, and reduced it to ashes, an event which made so deep an impression on the Roman imagination, that few other occurrences

Rome burnt
by the
Gauls.

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PERIOD.

in their history have been more frequently the object of traditional detail. Camillus, then the deliverer of Rome, and in every respect one of the chief heroes of that period, laid a double claim to the gratitude of his native city, by overruling, after his victory, the proposal of a total migration to Veii.

Feuds re-
vived.

12. Scarce was Rome rebuilt ere the ancient feuds revived, springing out of the poverty of the citizens, produced by an increase of taxation consequent on the establishment of military pay, and by the introduction of gross usury. The tribunes, Sertius and Licinius, by a five years' protraction of their tribunate, had established their power; Licinius, by an agrarian law, decreeing that no individual should hold more than 500 *jugera* of the national lands, had ensured the popular favour; so that at last they succeeded in obtaining, that one of the consuls should be chosen from the commons; and although the nobility, by the nomination of a prætor from their own body, and of *ædiles curules*, endeavoured at a compensation for the sacrifice they were obliged to make, yet the plebeians having once made good a claim to the consulship, their participation in the other magisterial offices, (the dictatorship, 353, the censorship, 348, the prætorship, 334,) and even in the priesthood, (300,) quickly followed as a matter of course. Thus at Rome the object of political equality between commons and nobles was attained; and although the difference between the patrician and plebeian families still subsisted, they soon ceased of themselves to be political parties.

A consul
chosen from
the com-
mons.

V. TILL THE CONQUEST OF ITALY. 329

second commercial treaty entered into with Carthage, 345, illustrates that about this time even the navy of the Romans was anything but contemptible; although its principal object was as piracy. But Roman squadrons of war ships make their range more than once in the next 40 years.

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PERIOD.

1. Far more important than the wars in which Rome had hitherto been engaged, were those which were about to commence with the Samnites. In former times, the object of Rome had been to establish her supremacy over her next neighbours; but the latter, during a contest fifty years in duration, she paved her way to the subjugation of Italy, and laid the foundation of her future greatness.

Samnite
war.

At the commencement of the wars against the Samnites, the Campanians having called the Romans to their assistance against that nation, 343. These wars, carried on with vigorous exertion and with success, lasted, with but short intermissions, till 290. This is the true heroic age of Rome; in this period shone the names of Decius Mus, (father and son, both voluntary victims,) Gaius Marius, C. Sulpicius Cursor, of Q. Fabius Maximus, etc. The consequences to Rome of this struggle were: *a.* The Romans learnt the art of mountain warfare, and thereby for the first time tactically properly so called; not, however, till they had been, 321, obliged to pass under the *furcas Caudinas*. *b.* Their relations with their neighbours the Latins and the Samnites were more firmly established with their neighbours the Latins and the Samnites, by the complete conquest of the former, 340, and repeated victories over the latter, more especially in 308. At the last period of the Samnite wars, the Romans entered into relations with the more distant nations of the country; with the Lucanians and Apulians, by the first league, 323, with the Samnites, from the year 308; and although these relations often degenerated, the various nations were perpetually struggling for independence, and consequently at enmity with Rome. In this period, moreover, commenced the practical illustration of the ideas of Rome upon the political relations in which she regarded the conquered with regard to herself.

FIRST
PERIOD.

War against
the Taren-
tines, who
are assisted
by Pyrrhus.

14. Rome wishing, after the subjection of the Samnites, to confirm her dominion in Lower Italy, was thereby, for the first time, entangled in war with a foreign prince; the Tarentines, too feeble to maintain alone their footing against Rome, called Pyrrhus of Epirus to their assistance. He came not so much to further the views of the Tarentines as to further his own; but even amid victory, he learnt by experience that the Macedonian tactics gave him but a slight preponderance, which the Romans soon transferred to their own side, exhibiting the truth of the principle, that a good civic militia, sooner or later, will always get the upper hand of mercenary troops.

The idea of calling upon Pyrrhus for assistance occurred the more naturally, as the predecessor of that prince, Alexander I. (see above, p. 289.) had endeavoured, but without success, to effect conquests in Lower Italy. In the first war with Pyrrhus, 280—278, two battles were fought, the first at Pandosia, 280, the other at Asculum, 279; in both Rome was unsuccessful. But Pyrrhus, after crossing over into Sicily, 278, (see above, p. 165, 166.) once more returned into Italy, 275, when he was beaten by the Romans at Beneventum, and compelled to evacuate Italy, leaving a garrison at Tarentum. That city, however, fell soon after, 272, into the hands of the Romans, whose dominion was consequently extended to the extremity of Lower Italy.

Roman co-
lonies,

15. The chief means to which, even from the earliest times, the Romans had recourse for the foundation of their dominion over the conquered, and at the same time for the prevention of the too great increase of the needy classes at Rome, was the establishment of colonies of their own citizens, which, being settled in the captured cities, served likewise as garrisons. Each colony had its own distinct internal constitution, fashioned,

for the most part, after that of the mother city itself; hence to keep the colonies in perfect dependence naturally became an object of Roman policy. This colonial system of the Romans, necessarily and spontaneously arising out of the rude custom of bereaving the conquered of their lands and liberty, assumed its main features in the Samnite war, and gradually encompassed the whole of Italy. Closely connected with this system was the construction of military highways, *(viæ militares,)* one of which, the Appian Way, was constructed so early as 312, and to this day remains a lasting monument of the greatness of Rome at that period.

Even at the time of Hannibal's invasion, the number of Roman colonies amounted to 53: but several of those that had been settled returned to the mother city.

HEYNE, *De Romanorum prudentia in coloniis regendis*: inserted in *Opusc.* vol. iii. Cf. *Prolusiones de veterum coloniarum jure ejusque causis*, in his *Opusc.* vol. i.

16. But the relations existing between Rome and the Italian nations were extremely various in kind. 1. A few cities and nations were placed in full possession of Roman citizenship; in some instances, however, without the right of vote in the *comitia (municipia)*. 2. The privileges of the colonies (*jus coloniarum*) were of a more restricted nature; the colonists were indeed in possession of their own civic government, but had no farther share whatever either in the *comitia* or magistracies of Rome. The other inhabitants of Italy were either federates (*socii, fœdere juncti*) or subjects (*dedititii*). The first *a.* preserved their internal form of government; but on the other hand

Relations
between
Rome and
the Italian
nations.

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PERIOD.

b. were held to give tribute and auxiliaries; (*tributis et armis juvare rempublicam*). Their farther relation with Rome depended upon the terms of the league. The most advantageous of these terms were 3. in favour of the Latins, although each of their cities had its own separate league; (*jus Latii*;) as 4. the rest of the Italian nations had their *jus Italicum*. On the other hand, 5. the subjects, *dedititii*, were deprived of their internal constitutions, and were governed by Roman magistrates, (*præfecti*,) who were annually renewed.

C. SIGONIUS, *De antiquo jure civium Romanorum*; and his treatise *De antiquo jure Italiæ*, inserted both in his *Opera* and in GRÆVII *Thes. Ant. Rom.* t. ii. contain the most learned researches on the details of these relations.

The Roman
constitu-
tion a de-
mocracy.

17. The internal constitution of Rome itself, now completed, bore the character of a democracy, inasmuch as equality of rights existed both for nobles and commons. Yet this democracy was modified by expedients so various and wonderful—the rights of the people, of the senate, of the magistrates, fitted so nicely into each other, and were so firmly supported by the national religion, connecting everything with determinate forms—that there was no reason, at that time, to fear the evils either of anarchy, or, what is much more astonishing in so warlike a people, those of military despotism.

The rights of the people consisted in the legislative power, so far as fundamental national principles were concerned, and in the election of the magistrates. The distinction between the *comitia tributa* (as independent upon the senate) and the *comitia centuriata* (as dependant on the senate) still existed as to form, but had lost all its importance, the difference between patricians and plebeians being now merely nominal, and the establishment of

the *tribus urbanæ*, 303, excluding the too great influence of the people (*forensis factio*) upon the *comitia tributa*. The rights of the senate consisted in administering and debating all transitory national affairs, whether foreign relations, (war and peace only excepted, in which the consent of the people was requisite,) financial concerns, or matters regarding the domestic peace and security. But the manner in which the senate was supplied must have made it the first political body at that time in the world. The rights and rank of magistrates were founded on their greater or lesser *auspicia*, no public affair being entered upon except *auspicato*. Consequently he only who was in possession of the former could hold the highest civic and military power; (*imperium civile et militare; suis auspiciis rem gerere*;) as dictator, consul, prætor; such was not the case with those who had only the lesser *auspicia*. The union of civil and military power in the person of the same individual was not without its inconveniences, but military despotism was in some measure guarded against by the prohibition of any magistrate possessing military command within Rome itself. We must not dismiss this subject without observing, that as the Roman constitution arose merely out of practice, as there never was any complete written chart, it cannot be expected that every detail should be clearly ascertained; to attempt in despite of this to describe all the *minutiæ* would be the surest way to fall into error.

Of the numerous works on the Roman constitution and on Roman antiquities, we shall mention:

DE BEAUFORT, *La République Romaine, ou plan général de l'ancien gouvernement de Rome*. La Haye, 1766. 2 vols. 4to. A most copious work, and one of the most solid in regard to the matters discussed; although it does not embrace the whole subject.

Histoire critique du gouvernement Romain; Paris, 1765. Containing some acute observations.

Du Gouvernement de la république Romaine, par A. AD. DE TEXIER, 3 vols. 8vo. Hamburg, 1796. This contains many inquiries peculiar to the writer.

Some learned researches respecting the principal points of the Roman constitution, as SIGONIUS and GRUCHIUS *de comitiis Romanorum*, ZAMOCIUS *de Senatu Romano*, etc. will be found collected in the first two vols. of GRÆVIUS, *Antiq. Roman.*

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PERIOD.

For the popular assemblies of the Romans, an antiquarian essay by Chr. Ferd. Schulze, Gotha, 1815, chiefly according to Niebuhr, may be consulted.

Among the numerous manuals of Roman antiquities, NIEBUHR, *explicatio rituum Romanorum*, ed. Gesner. Berol. 1743, promises at least as much as it performs. Of those which profess to treat of Roman antiquities in general, none have yet raised themselves above mediocrity. Jurisprudence, however, has been much more successfully handled. We cite the two following compendiums:

BACHII, *Historia Jurisprudentiæ Romanæ*. Lips. 1754. 1796.

† C. HUGO, *Elements of the Roman Law*; 7th edit. Berlin, 1820.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the commencement of the war with Carthage to the rise of the civil broils among the Greeks, B. C. 264—134. Year of Rome, 490—620.

SOURCES. The principal writer for this highly interesting period, in which was laid the foundation of the universal dominion of Rome, is, to the year 146, Polybius; not only in the complete books preserved to us, which come down to 216, but also in the fragments. He is frequently followed by Livy, lib. xxi—xlv. 218—166. Appian, who comes next, does not confine himself merely to the history of the war; Florus gives us only an abridgement. The lives of Plutarch which relate to this portion of history, are FABIVS MAXIMVS, P. ÆMILIUS, MARCELLVS, M. CATO, and FLAMINIUS.

Of modern writers we dare only mention one:—who is worthy to be ranked beside him?

MONTESQUIEU, *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains*.

The political division of Italy laid the foundation for the dominion of Rome in that country; want of union and political relations in the peninsula paved the way to her universal empire. The first step cost her dear, the succeeding followed easily and rapidly; and the history of the struggle between Rome and Carthage only shows on a larger scale what the history of the Grecian wars shows on a smaller. The whole of the living history confirms the fact, that two republics cannot exist near each other, without one being destroyed or subjected: but the vast extent of this struggle, the important consequences which followed, together with the wonderful exertions made, and the great men engaged on both sides, gave it an interest which cannot be found in that of any other nations. Though the power and resources of both states were nearly equal in appearance, they were widely different in quality and circumstances. Carthage, besides her dominion over the seas, had a better-furnished treasury, by which she was enabled to enlist into her service as many mercenaries as she pleased; Rome, on the contrary, *strong in herself*, had all the advantages possessed by a nation of warriors over one partly commercial, partly military.

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Struggle between Carthage and Rome;

its extent.

State of the two parties.

The first war of twenty-three years between the two republics, arose from very slight grounds; it soon, however, became a struggle for the possession of Sicily, which in the end naturally extended itself to the dominion of the sea. Carthage, by the aid of her newly-built fleet, having retained for some time this power, was enabled to

The first war of twenty-three years, B. C. 264—241.

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attack Africa, and succeeded in driving the Carthaginians from Sicily.

The occupation of Messina by the Romans, 264, gave rise to this war. The defection of Hiero king of Syracuse from the side of Carthage, and his joining the Romans, first gave the latter the idea of expelling the Carthaginians from the island. The victory at Agrigentum, and capture of that city in 262, seemed to facilitate the execution of this project: it also convinced the Romans of the necessity of their having a naval power. We shall the less wonder at their forming a fleet in Italy, where wood was then plentiful, if we remember their previous experience in naval affairs; these were not the first vessels of war which they constructed, but only the first large ones which they built after the fashion of the Carthaginians. The first naval victory of the Romans under Duilius, by the aid of grappling machines, 260. The project then conceived of carrying the war into Africa was one of the great ideas of the Romans, and from that time it became a ruling maxim of the state, to attack the enemy in his own territory. The second and very remarkable naval victory of the Romans, 257, opened the way for them to Africa, and shows their naval tactics in a very brilliant light: but the unfortunate issue of their expedition to Africa, restored the equilibrium; and the struggle for the dominion of the sea became the more obstinate, as success did not altogether favour one party. The result of the contest appears to have turned upon the possession of the eastern promontories of Sicily, Drepanum, and Libya, which were in a manner the bulwarks of the Carthaginians, and seemed impregnable since Hamilcar Barca had taken the command of them, 247. The last naval victory of the Romans, however, under the consul Lutatius, 241, having cut off the communication between Sicily and Carthage, and the finances of both parties being completely exhausted, a peace was concluded upon the conditions: 1. That the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily and the small islands adjacent. 2. That they should pay to Rome, by instalments in ten years, for the expenses she had been at in carrying on the war, the sum of 2200 talents. 3. That they should not make war against Hiero king of Syracuse.

3. The issue of this war placed the political relations of Rome in a new situation, and neces-

erily extended her influence abroad. The length of the war and the manner of its conclusion had, moreover, inspired a national hatred, such as is only found in republics; the conviction also that they could not remain independent of one another, must have become much more striking, as the points of contact had greatly increased since the beginning of the war. Who does not know the arrogance of a republic after the first essay of her power has been crowned with success! Rome gave a striking example of this by her invasion of Sardinia in the midst of peace. These successes had also a sensible effect on the Roman constitution. For although in appearance its form was at the least changed, yet the power of the senate now acquired that preponderance which the ruling authority of a republic never fails to do in long and successful wars.

Effect of these successes on the constitution.

Origin and nature of the governments of the first Roman provinces, in part of Sicily and in Sardinia.

An opportunity was soon afforded the Romans, in the Adriatic sea, of making use of their superior naval power; I mean the chastisement of the pirates of Illyria under their queen Teuta. Effecting this, they not only secured their mastery over that sea, but at the same time opened their first political relations with the Illyrian states; relations which soon afterwards became of great importance.

Chastisement of the Illyrian pirates.

The commencement of the first Illyrian war, 230, it ends with the death of Teuta, 226. The war, however, again breaks out, this time against Demetrius Pharaoh, who does not think himself sufficiently rewarded by Rome for the services he rendered in the preceding war. He is found by Rome a much more

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dangerous adversary than had been expected, even after his expulsion and flight to Philip, 220, (see above, p. 279.) Throughout this war, the Romans appear as the deliverers of the Grecian states, which had suffered extremely from the plunder of these freebooters; Corcyra, Apollonia, and other cities placed themselves formally under the protection of Rome, while the Achæans, Ætolians, and Athenians vied with each other in showing their gratitude.

Relations
with
Greece.

5. In the mean time, while Carthage endeavoured to make up for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia by extending her Spanish dominions, which the jealousy of Rome restrained her from carrying beyond the Ebro (p. 84.), Rome herself had a new war to maintain against her northern neighbours the Gauls, which ended after a violent contest with the establishment of her authority over the north of Italy.

From the first Gallic war to the burning of Rome, 390, the Gauls had repeated their attacks in 360 and 348, even to the conclusion of the peace in 336. But in the latter part of the Samnite war, a formidable confederacy having been formed among the Italian tribes, a part of the Gauls enlisted as mercenaries into the service of the Etruscans, and part allied themselves to the Samnites. This led them to take part in these wars in 306, 302, and 292, until they were obliged, together with the Etruscans, to sue for peace in 284, before which time the Romans had sent a colony into their country, near Sena. This peace lasted till 238, when it was disturbed by the incursion of the transalpine Gauls; without, however, their coming to any war with Rome. But in 232, the proposition of Flaminius the tribune, (*lex Flaminia*), to divide the lands conquered from the Senones, became the cause of new disturbances. Upon this occasion, the Gauls entered into an alliance with their transalpine countrymen, the Gasates on the Rhone, who had been accustomed to engage as mercenaries. These having crossed the Alps, the dreadful war of six years (226—220) began, in which, after defeating the Gauls near Clusium, 225, the Romans pursued them into their own territory, and encamped upon the Po, 223. The Gauls having been again completely overthrown by Marcellus, were

obliged to sue for peace ; when the Roman colonies of Placentia and Cremona were established. The number of men capable of bearing arms in the Italy of the Romans during this war amounted to 800,000.

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6. Before this storm was totally appeased, in which Carthaginian policy had not probably been altogether inactive, Hannibal had obtained the chief command in Spain. From the reproach of having first begun the war, he and his party cannot be cleared ; Rome, in the situation she then was, could hardly desire it ; he however who strikes the first blow is not always the real aggressor. The plan of Hannibal was the destruction of Rome ; and by making Italy the principal seat of the war, he necessarily turned the scale in his favour ; because Rome, obliged to defend herself, left to him all the advantages of attack. The preparations she made for defence, show that it was not believed possible he could execute his enterprise by the route which he took.

Hannibal
takes the
command in
Spain,

and makes
Italy the
seat of war.

The history of this war, 218—201, of which no later transaction has been able to destroy the interest, is divided into three parts : the history of the war in Italy ; the contemporary war in Spain ; and from 203, the war in Africa. Hannibal's invasion of Italy in the autumn, 218—action near the river Ticinus and battle of Trebia, in the same year. Battle near the lake Thrasymentus in the spring, 217. Establishment of the war in Lower Italy, and the defensive warfare of the dictator Fabius until the end of the year. Battle of Cannæ, 216, followed by the conquest of Capua and the subjection of the greater part of Lower Italy. The defensive war, afterwards adopted by the Carthaginian, arose partly from his desire to form a junction with his brother Asdrubal and the Spanish army, and partly from his expectation of foreign support by means of alliances, with Syracuse, after the death of Hiero, 215, and with Philip of Macedon, 216. These hopes, however, were frustrated by the Romans.—Syracuse

SECOND
PERIOD.

was besieged and conquered, 214—212, (see above, p. 173.) and Philip kept employed in Greece, (see above, p. 280.) In addition to this, the Romans retook Capua, notwithstanding the audacious march of Hannibal towards Rome, 211, and he had now no succour left except the reinforcement which Asdrubal was bringing from Spain. The latter, however, was attacked immediately upon his arrival in Italy, near Sena, by the consuls Nero and Livius, and left dead on the field, 207. From this time the war in Italy became only of secondary importance, as Hannibal was obliged to rest on the defensive in Bruttium.

The Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained, by J. WHITAKER. London, 1794, 2 vols. 8vo. The author proves that the passage of Hannibal was over the great St. Bernard, and criticises other opinions respecting it.

[We may likewise mention the learned treatise:—

A Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps. By H. L. WICKHAM, M.A. and the Rev. J. A. CRAMER, M.A. second edition, Oxon.]

The war in Spain began nearly about the same time between Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, and the two brothers, Cn. and P. Cornelius Scipio, and was continued, now with success and now with defeat, till the year 216, the issue depending much upon the disposition of the Spaniards themselves. The plan of Carthage after the year 216, was to send Asdrubal with the Spanish army into Italy, and to supply its place by an army from Africa; two victories, however, gained by the Scipios near the Ebro, 216, and the Illiberis, 215, prevented this from being effected, till at last both fell under the superior power and cunning of the Carthaginians, 212. But the arrival of the young P. Cornelius Scipio, who did not appear merely to his own nation an extraordinary genius, entirely changed the face of affairs, and the fortunes of Rome became soon attached to his name, which alone seemed to promise victory. During his command in Spain, 210—206, he won over the inhabitants while he beat the Carthaginians, and, for the furtherance of his great design, contracted an alliance with Syphax in Africa, 206. He was unable, however, to hinder the march of Asdrubal into Italy, 208, which made it easy for him to subdue all Carthaginian Spain as far as Gades, 206, and obtained him the consular dignity at his return 205.

The carrying of the war into Africa by Scipio, notwithstanding the opposition of the old Roman generals, and the desertion of Syphax, who at the persuasion of Sophonisba again went over to the Carthaginians (whose loss however was well repaid by Masinissa, whom Scipio had won over to his side in Spain), was followed by an important consequence; for after he had gained two victories over Asdrubal and Syphax, 203, and taken the latter prisoner, the Carthaginians found it necessary to recall Hannibal from Italy, 202; and the battle of Zama terminated the war, 201. The following were the conditions of peace: 1. That the Carthaginians should only retain the territory in Africa annexed to their government. 2. That they should give up all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their elephants. 3. That they should pay, at times specified, 10,000 talents. 4. That they should commence no war without the consent of Rome. 5. That they should restore to Masinissa all the houses, cities, and lands that had ever been possessed by himself or his ancestors.—The reproach usually cast upon the Carthaginians, of having left Hannibal unsupported in Italy, in a great measure vanishes, if we remember the plan formed in 216, to send the Spanish army into Italy, and to replace it by an African one: a plan formed with much ability, and followed with as much constancy. We may add to this, that the faction of Barca maintained its influence in the government even to the end of the war. But why they, who by the treaty of peace gave up five hundred vessels of war, suffered Scipio to cross over from Sicily, without sending one to oppose him, is difficult to explain.

7. Notwithstanding her great loss of men, and the devastation of Italy, Rome felt herself much more powerful at the end of this war than at the beginning. Her dominion was not only established over Italy, but extensive foreign countries had been brought under it; her authority over the seas was rendered secure by the destruction of the naval power of the Carthaginians. The Roman form of government, it is true, underwent no change, but its *spirit* much, as the power of the senate

Power of
Rome in-
creased by
the war.

SECOND PERIOD.

She becomes a military republic.

Her policy.

State of the rest of the world.

became almost unlimited ; and although the dawn of civilization had broken over Rome, since her intercourse with more civilized foreigners, the state still remained altogether a nation of warriors. Now, for the first time, appears in the page of history the fearful phenomenon of a great military republic ; and the history of the next ten years, in which Rome overthrew so many thrones and free states, gives a striking proof, that such a power is the natural enemy to the independence of all the states within the reach of her arms. The causes which led Rome from this time to aspire after the dominion of the world are to be found neither in her geographical situation, which for a conquering power by land seemed rather unfavourable ; nor in the inclination of the people, who were opposed to the first war against Philip ; but singly and entirely in the spirit of her government. The means, however, whereby she obtained her end, must not be sought for merely in the excellence of her armies and generals, but rather in that uniform, sharp-sighted, and dexterous policy, by which she was enabled to frustrate the powerful alliances formed against her, notwithstanding the many adversaries who at that time sought to form new ones. But where could be found such another council of state, embodying such a mass of practical political wisdom, as the Roman senate must have been at its institution ? All this, however, would not have been sufficient to have subjugated the world, if the want of good government, the degeneracy of the military art, and morals sunk to the lowest grade of depravity among both rulers and people, in

foreign states, had not seconded the efforts of Rome.

View of the political state of the world at that period. In the west, Sicily (undivided since 212), Sardinia, and Corsica, since 237, and Spain, divided into citerior and ulterior had become, since 206, (the latter rather in name than in fact), Roman provinces; the independence of Carthage had been destroyed by the last peace, and her subordination secured by the alliance of Rome with Masinissa; Cisalpine Gaul, formed into a province, served as a barrier against the inroads of the more northern barbarians. On the other side, in the east, the kingdom of Macedonia, and the free states of Greece, forming together a very complicated system, had opened a connexion with Rome since the Illyrian war, 230, and Philip's alliance with Hannibal, 214. Of the three powers of the first rank, Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, the two former were allied against the latter, who, on her part, maintained a good understanding with Rome. The states of secondary rank were, the Ætolian league, the kings of Pergamus, and the republic of Rhodes, with some smaller, such as Athens: these had allied themselves to Rome since the confederacy against Philip, 211. The Achæan league, on the contrary, was in the interests of Macedonia, which Rome always endeavoured to attach to herself, in order to make head against those of the first rank.

8. A declaration of war against Philip, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes of the people, and an attack upon Macedonia itself, according to the constant maxim of carrying the war into the enemy's country, immediately followed. They could not, however, drive Philip so soon from the fastnesses of Epirus and Thessaly, which were his bulwarks. But Rome possessed in T. Quintus Flaminius, who marched against Philip as the deliverer of Greece, a statesman and general exactly fitted for a period of great revolutions. By the permanency of his political influence he became indeed the true founder of the

War against
Philip, B.C.
200.

T. Quintus
Flaminius,
198,

found the
Roman
power in the
east.

SECOND
PERIOD.

Roman power in the east. Who could better cajole men and nations, while they were erecting altars to him, than T. Quintus? Indeed he put on with so much art the character of a high genius, such as had been given by nature to Scipio, that he almost deceived history itself. The struggle between him and Philip consisted rather of a display of talents in political stratagem and finesse than of feats of arms: even before the
 B. C. 197. battle of Cynoscephalæ had given the finishing
 198. stroke, the Romans had turned the balance in their favour, by gaining the Achæan league.

The negotiations between Rome and Macedonia, from the year 214, give the first striking examples of the ability and address of the Romans in foreign policy; and they are the more remarkable, as the treaty with the Ætolians and others, 211 (see above, p. 280), was the cause of the transactions which afterwards took place in the east. The system of the Romans, of taking the lesser states under their protection as allies, must always have given them an opportunity of making war on the more powerful whenever they chose. This really happened in the present case, notwithstanding the peace concluded with Philip, 204. The chief object of the Romans in this war, both by sea and land, was to drive Philip completely out of Greece. The allies on both sides, and the conditions of peace, were the same as those with Carthage (see above, p. 280). The destruction of the naval power of her conquered enemies became now a maxim of Roman policy in making peace; and she thus maintained the dominion of the seas without any great fleet, and without losing the essential character of a dominant power by land.

9. The expulsion of Philip from Greece brought that country into a state of dependence upon Rome; and that could not have been better secured than by the present of liberty which T. Quintus conferred upon its inhabitants at the Isthmian games. The system of surveillance,

which the Romans had already established in the west over Carthage and Numidia, was now adopted in the east over Greece and Macedonia. Roman commissioners, under the name of ambassadors, were sent into the country of the nations in alliance, and were the principal means by which this system of espionage was carried on. These however did not fail to give umbrage to the Greeks, particularly to the turbulent Ætolians; more especially as the Romans seemed in no hurry to withdraw their troops from a country which they had declared to be free.

Liberty was expressly granted to the state which had taken the part of Philip, namely, to the Achæans; to the others it was naturally understood to belong. It was nevertheless three years, 194, before the Roman army evacuated Greece and withdrew from the fortified places. The conduct of T. Quintius during this period fully shows what he was. The Greeks indeed had much want of such a guardian if they wished to remain quiet: his conduct, however, in the war against Nabis, 195, shows that he had not much at heart the tranquillity of Greece.

10. The treaty of peace with Philip contained the seeds of a new and greater war with Syria; but though this seemed inevitable at that time, it did not break out till six years afterwards; and in but few periods of the history of the world is so great a political crisis to be found, as in this short interval. The fall of Carthage and Macedonia had shown the rest of the world what it had to expect from Rome; and there was no lack of great men sufficiently endowed with courage and talents to resist her. The danger of a formidable league between Carthage, Syria, and perhaps Macedonia, was never so much to be

War with
Syria.

Danger of a
formidable
league
against
Rome;

SECOND
PERIOD.

which she
frustrates.

feared, as Hannibal, now at the head of affairs, laboured to effect it with all the zeal which his hatred of Rome could inspire; and they might calculate with certainty beforehand on the accession of many smaller states. Rome, however, by her decisive and artful policy, got Hannibal banished from Carthage, amused Philip by granting him some trifling advantages, and gained over the smaller states by her ambassadors. By these means, and by taking advantage of the intrigues in the court of Syria, she prevented this coalition from being formed. Antiochus was therefore left without assistance in Greece, except from the Ætolians, and a few other unimportant allies; while Rome drew from hers, especially the Rhodians and Eumenes, advantages of the greatest consequence.

The first cause of contention between Rome and Antiochus was the liberty of Greece, which the former wished to extend to the Grecian cities of Asia, and to those in particular which had belonged to Philip, and afterwards to Antiochus; while the latter prince contended, that Rome had no right to intermeddle with the affairs of Asia. The second cause of dispute was the occupation of the Thracian Chersonesus by Antiochus, 196, in right of some ancient pretensions; and Rome, on her part, would not tolerate him in Europe. The contest began 196, with but little warmth, as by Hannibal's flight to Antiochus, 195, and by the fury and instigation of the Ætolians, the prospects of all parties seemed overcast. What a fortunate thing it was for Rome that Hannibal and Antiochus could not understand each other!

HEYNE, *de fœderum ad Romanorum opes imminuendas initiorum eventis eorumque causis*; in *Opusc.* vol. iii.

11. This war was much sooner brought to a termination than the Macedonian, owing to the half-measures adopted by Antiochus. After having

B.C. 191.

been driven from Greece by Galabrius, and that two naval victories had opened to the Romans the way to Asia, he felt inclined to act on the defensive; but in the battle near Magnesia on the Sipylus, L. Scipio gathered the laurels which more properly belonged to Galabrius. The total expulsion of Antiochus from Asia Minor, even before this victory, had been the chief object of the war. The conditions of peace (see above, p. 280.) were such, as not only weakened Antiochus, but reduced him to a state of dependence.

SECOND PERIOD.

Battle of Magnesia, 192.

Conditions of peace.

During this contest in the east, a sanguinary war was going on in the west; from the year 201 in Spain, where the elder Cato commanded; and from 193 in Italy itself, against the Ligurians. Whatever may be said upon the means made use of by Rome to increase the number of her citizens, it will always be difficult to comprehend, not only how she could support all these wars without being thereby weakened, but how at the same time she could found so many colonies!

12. Even after the termination of this war, Rome refrained with astonishing moderation from appearing in the light of a conqueror: it was only for the liberty of Greece, and for her allies, that she had contended! Without keeping a foot of land for herself, she divided, with the exception of the free Grecian cities, the conquered Asia Minor between the Eumenians and the Rhodians; the manner, however, in which she dealt with the Ætolians, who after a long supplication for peace were obliged to buy it dearly, shows that she also knew how to treat unfaithful allies. The war against the Gauls in Asia Minor was not less necessary for the preservation of tranquillity in that country, than it was injurious to the morals and

Moderation of Rome.

War against the Gauls in Asia Minor, 189

SECOND
PERIOD.

B. C. 200
—190.

Rome the
arbitress of
the world.

military discipline of the Roman army. They here learned to levy contributions.

13. Thus, within the short space of ten years, was laid the foundation of the Roman authority in the east, and the general state of affairs entirely changed. If Rome was not yet the ruler, she was at least the arbitress of the world from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. The power of the three principal states was so completely humbled, that they durst not, without the permission of Rome, begin any new war; the fourth, Egypt, had already, in the year 201, placed herself under the guardianship of Rome; and the lesser powers followed of themselves: esteeming it an honour to be called the *allies of Rome*. With this name the nations were lulled into security, and brought under the Roman yoke; the new political system of Rome was founded and strengthened, partly by exciting and supporting the weaker states against the stronger, however unjust the cause of the former might be, and partly by factions which she found means to raise in every state, even the least.

Although the policy of Rome extended itself everywhere by means of her commissioners, or ambassadors, yet she kept a more particular guard against Carthage by favouring Masinissa at her expense, against the Achaean league by favouring the Spartans, and against Philip of Macedon by favouring every one who brought any complaint against him (see above, p. 281).

14. Although these new connexions and this intercourse with foreign nations aided greatly the diffusion of knowledge and science, and was followed by a gradual improvement in her civilization, yet was it nevertheless, in many respects,

detrimental to the internal state of Rome. The introduction of the scandalous Bacchanalia, which was immediately discovered and forbidden, shows how easily great vices may creep in among a people who are only indebted for their morality to their ignorance. Among the higher classes also the spirit of intrigue manifested itself to an astonishing degree; particularly by the attacks directed against the Scipios by the elder Cato, whose restless activity became the instrument of his malignant passions. The severity of his censorship did not repair the evils caused by his immorality and pernicious politics.

Voluntary exile of Scipio Africanus to Linternum, 187. He dies there, 183, the same year in which Hannibal falls under the continued persecution of Rome. His brother Scipio Asiaticus is also unable to escape a trial and condemnation, 185. One would have expected a sensible effect from the exile of these two great men; but, in a state where the ruling power is in the hands of a body like what the Roman senate was, the change of individuals is of but little consequence.

15. New broils arise, as early as 185, with Philip of Macedon, who soon finds that they had spared him no longer than it suited their own convenience. Although the intervention of Philip's youngest son, upon whom the Romans had formed some design, prevented the powers from coming to an immediate rupture, and war was still farther delayed by Philip's death, yet the national hatred descended to his successor, and continued to increase, notwithstanding an alliance concluded with him, until the war openly broke out (see above, p. 283).

New broils
with Philip,
185.

His death,
179.

Open war,
172.

SECOND
PERIOD.

The first circumstance which gave umbrage to Philip was the small portion they permitted him to conquer in Athamania and Thessaly during the war against Antiochus. But what sharpened his animosity, much more than the object in dispute, was the conduct of the missionary ambassadors of Rome, before whom he, the king, was called upon to defend himself as an accused party, 184. The exclamation of Philip, "that the sun of every day had not yet set," showed his indignation, and at the same time betrayed his intention. The interval previous to the breaking out of the war was anything rather than a time of peace for Rome; for besides that the Spanish and Ligurian wars continued almost without intermission, the revolts which broke out in Istria, 178, and in Sardinia and Corsica, 176, caused much bloodshed.

Second Macedonian war, ends with the ruin of the kingdom, 168.

16. In the second Macedonian war, which ended with the destruction of Perseus and his kingdom (see above, p. 284), it required the active efforts of Roman policy to prevent a powerful confederacy from being formed against her; as Perseus used all his endeavours to stimulate, not only the Grecian states, and Thrace and Illyria, but also Carthage and Asia, to enter into alliance with him. Where was it that Rome did not at this crisis send her ambassadors? She did not indeed succeed so far as to leave her enemy quite alone, but prepared new triumphs for herself over the few allies she left him. The devastated Epirus, and Gentius king of Illyria, suffered dearly for the assistance they had lent him; the states also which had remained neuter, the Rhodians and Eumenes, were made to feel severely that they were the mere creatures of Rome.

Beginning of the Macedonian war, 171, before Rome was prepared; a deceitful truce, which raised the indignation of the ancient senators, was the means resorted to for gaining time. Notwithstanding this, the war at first, 170 and 169, was fa-

vourable to Perseus; but he wanted resolution and judgment to enable him to turn his advantages to account. In 168, Paulus Æmilius, an old general, against the usual custom of the Romans, took the command. Bloody and decisive battle near Pydna, June 22, 168. So completely may one day overturn a kingdom which has only an army for its support! Contemporary with this war, and highly fortunate for Rome, was the war of Antiochus Epiphanes with Egypt. No wonder that Rome did not, till 168, through Popilius, command peace between them! (See above, p. 257.)

17. The destruction of the Macedonian monarchy was attended with consequences equally disastrous for the conquerors and the conquered. To the first it soon gave the notion of becoming the masters of the world, instead of its arbiters; and it exposed the latter, for the next twenty years, to all the evils inseparable from such a catastrophe. The system of politics hitherto pursued by Rome could not last much longer; for if nations suffered themselves to be brought under the yoke by force, it was not to be expected that they would be long held in dependence under the specious name of liberty. But the state of things, after this war, was such as contributed to hasten a change in the form of the relations which existed between Rome and her allies.

The republican constitution given to the already ruined and devastated Macedonians (see above, p. 285.) and Illyrians, and which, according to the decree of the senate, "showed to all people that Rome was ready to bestow liberty upon them," was granted upon such hard conditions, that the enfranchised nation soon used every endeavour to procure themselves a king. Greece however suffered still more than Macedonia. Here, during the war, the spirit of faction had risen to the highest pitch; and the arrogant insolence of the Roman party, composed for the most

SECOND
PERIOD.

part of venal, wretched villains, was so great, that they persecuted not only those who had espoused an opposite faction, but also those who had joined no faction at all. Rome nevertheless could not believe herself secure, until she had destroyed, by a cruel artifice, all her adversaries (see above, p. 285).

18. Entirely in the same spirit did Rome proceed against the other states from whom she had anything to fear. These must be rendered defenceless; and every means of effecting that purpose was considered justifiable by the senate. The quarrels between the successors to the throne in Egypt were taken advantage of to cause dissensions in that kingdom (see above, p. 257); while Syria was retained in a state of tutelage, by keeping the rightful heir to the throne at Rome; and its military power neutralized by means of their ambassadors (see above, p. 241).

19. From these facts we may also conclude, that the injuries now meditated against Carthage were not separate projects, but rather formed part of the general system of Roman policy at this period, although particular events at one time retarded their execution, and at another hastened it. History, in recounting the incredibly bad treatment which Carthage had to endure before her fall, seems to have given a warning to those nations who can take it, of what they may expect from the domination of a powerful republic.

Cato was the chief of the party which sought the destruction of Carthage, both from a spirit of envy against Scipio Nasica, whom he hated for his great influence in the senate; and because, when ambassador to Carthage, he thought they did not treat him with sufficient respect. But Masinissa's victory, 152 (see above, p. 87), and the defection of Utica, brought this project into

immediate play. Beginning of the war, 150, the Carthaginians having been previously inveigled out of their arms. The city, however, was not captured and destroyed by P. Scipio Æmilianus, till 146. The Carthaginian territory, under the name of Africa, made a Roman province.

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20. During this third war with Carthage, hostilities again broke out in Macedonia, which brought on a new war with Greece, and entirely changed the state of both these countries. In Macedonia, an impostor named Andriscus, who pretended to be the son of Philip, placed himself at the head of that highly disaffected people, assumed the name of Philip, and became, particularly by an alliance with the Thracians, very formidable to the Romans, until overcome by Metellus. Rome wishing to take advantage of this crisis to dissolve the Achæan league, the Achæan war broke out (see above, p. 285). This war was begun by Metellus, and terminated by Nummius with the destruction of Corinth. By the formation of Macedonia and Greece into provinces, Rome now gave a proof that no existing relations, nor any form of government, can prevent nations from being subjugated by a war-like republic, whenever circumstances render it possible.

A new war
with Macedonia and
Greece.

B. C. 148.

Terminated
by the destruction of
Corinth,
146.

It might have been expected, that the destruction of the two first commercial cities in the world, in the same year, would have been followed by important consequences to the course of trade; but the trade of Carthage and Corinth had already been drawn to Alexandria and Rhodes, Utica otherwise might, in some respects, have supplied the place of Carthage.

21. While Rome was thus destroying thrones and republics, she met in Spain with an antago-

War in
Spain, 146.

SECOND
PERIOD.

nist—a simple Spanish countryman named Viriathus—whom, after six years' war, she could only rid herself of by assassination. The war nevertheless continued after his death against the Numantines, who would not be subjected, but were at last destroyed by Scipio Æmilianus.

B. C. 140.

133.

The war against the Spaniards, who of all the nations subdued by the Romans defended their liberty with the greatest obstinacy, began in the year 200, six years after the total expulsion of the Carthaginians from their country, 206. It was exceedingly obstinate, partly from the natural state of the country, which was thickly populated, and where every place became a fortress; partly from the courage of the inhabitants; but above all by the policy of the Romans, who were wont to employ their allies to subdue other nations. This war continued, almost without interruption, from the year 200 to 133, and was for the most part carried on at the same time in Spain Citerior, where the Celtiberi were most formidable adversaries, and in Spain Ulterior, where the Lusitani were equally powerful. Hostilities were at the highest pitch in 195, under Cato, who reduced Spain Citerior to a state of tranquillity in 185—179, when the Celtiberi were attacked upon their native territory; and 155—150, when the Romans in both provinces were so often beaten, that those in Rome dreaded to be sent there. The extortions and perfidy of Servius Galba placed Viriathus, in the year 146, at the head of his nation, the Lusitani: the war, however, soon extended itself to Spain Citerior, where many nations, particularly the Numantines, arose against Rome, 143. Viriathus, sometimes victorious and sometimes defeated, became only the more formidable after the latter; because he knew how to take advantage of his knowledge of the country, and of the dispositions of his countrymen. After his murder, caused by the treachery of Cæpio, 140, Lusitania was subdued; but the Numantine war became still more violent, and the Numantines compelled the consul Mancinus to a disadvantageous treaty, 137. When Scipio, in the year 133, put an end to this war, Spain certainly was tranquil; nevertheless, the northern parts were still unsubdued, though the Romans penetrated as far as Gallaecia.

22. Towards the end of this period, the Romans obtained at a much cheaper rate the possession of one of their most important provinces; the profligate Attalus III. king of Pergamus, bequeathing them (on what account it is uncertain) the whole of his kingdom (see above, p. 3.), they immediately took possession of it, and got it in spite of the resistance of the legitimate king Aristonicus, merely ceding, as a recompense, Bithynia to Mithridates V. king of Pontus. Thus, by a stroke of the pen, the largest and finest part of Asia Minor became the property of Rome. This extraordinary legacy was the work of human policy, she paid dear enough, in the long run, for this accession to her power and riches, by the destruction of her morals, and the dreadful wars to which this legacy gave rise under Mithridates.

23. The foreign possessions of Rome, besides Italy, comprised at this time under the name of provinces a name of much higher signification in the Latin language than in any other, Citerior and Ulterior Spain, Africa (the territory of Carthage), Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Liguria, and Cisalpine Gaul, in the west; and in the east, Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia (territory of Pergamus). The inhabitants of these countries were entirely subject to Rome. The administration of them was carried on by those who had enjoyed the office of consul, and by praetors, to whom were subordinate quaestors, or collectors of the revenue. The highest military and civil powers were united in these governors; the principal cause of that horrible oppression

SECOND PERIOD.
Attalus III. leaves his kingdom to the Romans.

B. C. 133
—130.

Roman provinces.

How governed.

SECOND
PERIOD.

which was soon felt. Troops were always kept up in the provinces; and the Latin language everywhere introduced (except only where Greek was spoken), that the inhabitants might be made as much like Romans as possible.

Till nearly the end of this period, pretors were expressly appointed to each province. It was not till after the origin of the *questiones perpetuæ*, that it became the custom for the pretors who had finished their office, to succeed to the provinces (*propratores*), a principal cause of the degeneration of the Roman constitution.

C. SIGONIUS, *de Antiquo jure provinciarum in Grævii Thes. Antiq. Rom.* vol. ii.

Roman re-
venue.

24. The acquisition of these rich countries naturally had a great influence in increasing the revenue of the Romans. Though Rome was not indeed a state, like Carthage, altogether dependent upon finances, yet she kept these adjusted in a wonderful manner; a spirit of nice order being observed in this as well as in every other department of her administration. If in extraordinary emergencies recourse were had to native loans, to a change in the value of money, or a monopoly of salt, order was soon restored; the booty obtained from conquered countries was indeed a great source of public revenue (*aerarium*) so long as it was reserved for the state, and became not the prey of the generals.

Sources of the Roman revenue (*vectigalia*) were: 1. Tributa. a. from the Roman citizens; that is to say, a property-tax imposed by the senate according to the urgency of the case (which, however, was remitted, for a long time, after the war with Persens, 168, being no longer necessary). b. Tribute of the allies (*socii*) in Italy: which seems also to have been property-

taxes; differing in different places. c. Tribute of the provinces: in some a heavy poll-tax, in others taxes on property; in all, however, they were paid in natural productions, mostly in the ordinary, though sometimes in the more uncommon, as well for the salary of the governor as for the supply of the capital. 2. The revenue from the national domains (*ager publicus*), as well in Italy (especially in Campania) as in the provinces; the tythes (*decumæ*) of which were paid by means of leases of four years, granted by the censors. 3. The revenue from the customs (*portoria*), collected in the seaports and frontier towns. 4. The revenue arising from the mines (*metalla*), particularly the Spanish silver mines; the proprietors of which were obliged to pay a duty to the state. 5. The duty upon enfranchised slaves (*aurem vicesimarium*). All receipts flowed into the national treasury, the *ærarium*; all outgoings were exclusively ordered by the senate; and the people were consulted as little with regard to them as they were respecting the imposts. The officers employed were the *quæstores*, under whom were the *scribæ*, divided into *decurias*, who, though certainly subordinate, had nevertheless a great influence. Their services, as they were not yearly changed, must have been indispensable to the *quæstores* for the time being; and the whole management of affairs, at least in detail, must have fallen into their hands.

Upon the finances of Rome, the best work at present is:—

P. BURMANI, *Vectigalia Populi Romani*. Leyden, 1734, 4to.

Two excellent treatises have since appeared in German upon this subject:—

† D. H. HEGEWISCH, *Essay upon Roman Finances*. Antona, 1804, and

† R. BOSSE, *Sketch of the System of Finance in the Roman State*. Brunswick, 1803, 2 parts. Both include the periods of the republic and the monarchy.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the beginning of the civil broils under the Gracchi, to the fall of the republic. B. C. 134—30. Year of Rome, 620—724.

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SOURCES. Concerning the first half of this important period of the republic, down to the time of Cicero, we are sadly in want of precise information. Not one of the contemporary writers has been preserved to us, nor indeed any one of the later historians who compiled a history of the whole period. APPIAN, *de Bellis Civilibus*; PLUTARCH, in his *Lives of the Gracchi*; and the spirited *Compendium* of VEL. PATERCULUS are, for this portion, the principal authorities; and even the imperfect summaries of the lost books of Livy, so masterly supplied by Freinshemius, become here of importance. For the times which follow Sallust, *Jugurtha* and *Catiline* are two excellent historical cabinet pieces, and become the more valuable for the insight they at the same time give us of the internal condition of Rome. His great work, however, *The Histories*, is, with the exception of a few precious fragments, unfortunately lost. For the times of CÆSAR and CICERO, we have the *Commentaries* of the first, and the *Orations* and *Letters* of the latter; sources of rich instruction. What is left us of DION CASSIUS's *History*, begins with the year 69 before Christ. Of PLUTARCH's *Lives*, besides those of the Gracchi, the following are connected with this period: C. MARIUS, SYLLA, LUCULLUS, CRASSUS, SERTORIUS, CATO OF UTICA, CICERO, BRUTUS, and ANTONIUS. Upon the sources for whose lives, see my treatises cited above, p. 317.

Among the moderns, the greater part of this period is particularly treated of by:—

DE BROSSES, *Histoire de la République Romaine dans le cours du VII^e Siècle par Salluste*, à Dijon, 1777, 3 vols. 4to.

In German by J. C. SCHLEUTER, 1790, etc. with remarks. 4 vols. The editor of this capital work had an idea of translating Sallust, and supplying what is lost. It contains, besides

a translation of Jugurtha and Catiline, the period between both, of which Sallust treats in his *Histories*: that is, from Sylla's abdication, B. C. 79—67; and is equally important for itself and for the period to which it belongs.

VERTOT, *Histoire des révolutions arrivées dans le gouvernement de la république Romaine*. Paris, 1796, 6 vols. 12mo. Although this justly esteemed work includes the foregoing period, it is particularly valuable for this.

MABLY, *Observations sur les Romains*. Genève, 1751, 2 vols. 8vo. A survey of the internal history, not without ingenuity, but as superficial as the *Observations sur les Grecs* by the same author.

1. The foregoing period is composed of the Civil wars, history of foreign wars alone; in this, on the contrary, Rome appears in a continual state of internal commotion. If foreign hostilities interrupt this for a short time, it is only that it may be renewed with more violence, till at last it bursts forth into the fiercest civil war. As the almost boundless power of the senate had laid the foundation of an exceedingly hateful family aristocracy, against which arrayed themselves, in the character of powerful demagogues, the tribunes of the people, there arose a new struggle between the aristocratic and democratic parties, which almost immediately grew into two powerful factions. This contest, from its extent and its consequences, soon became much more important than the ancient one between the patricians and the plebeians.

Power of the senate creates an aristocracy,

which is opposed by the tribunes of the people.

This family aristocracy gradually arose from the power of the magistrates, who now not only enjoyed a very high political importance, but, by the government of the provinces, acquired immense wealth. The present aristocracy, then, consisted of the ruling families (*nobiles*) concentrated in the senate. The struggle with the opposite party, the people (*plebs*), became so much the

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more violent in consequence of the great abuses which had crept into the administration, particularly in the division of the lands of the republic; the ruling families securing to themselves the fruits of all the victories and conquests, while the power of the democracy, by the vast accumulation of people (without the means of livelihood, although in the voting *comitia*), especially of enfranchised slaves, who, though strangers, mostly without power or property, formed, nevertheless, the greater part of what was then called the Roman people.

G. AL. RUPERTI, *Stemmata gentium Romanarum*. Goetz. 1795, 8vo. Almost indispensable for obtaining a clear insight into the history of the Roman families, and of course into that of the state.

First disturbances under T. S. Gracchus. B. C. 133. He desires to relieve the distress of the lower orders,

2. Commencement of the disturbances under the tribunate of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, whom former connections had long made the man of the people. His desire was to relieve the distress of the lower orders of the people; and the means whereby he hoped to do this was a better division of the lands of the republic, now almost exclusively in the hands of the aristocracy. His reform, therefore, naturally led at once to a struggle with that party. Tib. Gracchus however soon found, by experience, that a demagogue cannot stop where he would, however pure his intentions may be at first; and no sooner had he obtained a prolongation of his tribunate, in opposition to the usual custom, than he fell a sacrifice to his undertaking.

and dies in the attempt;

The first agrarian law of Gracchus was confirmed by the people, notwithstanding the fruitless opposition of his colleague Octavius, who was deposed; it decreed, that no person should possess above five hundred acres of land, nor any child above half that quantity. This law was, in fact, only a renewal of the ancient *lex Licinia*; it bore, however, in the condition in which Rome now was, much harder upon the property usurped by the great families, than it did in the olden time. Appointment of

a committee to divide the national lands, to whom also the office was given to inquire which were the property of the state (*ager publicus*) and which not. New popular propositions of the elder Gracchus, especially that for the division of the treasures left by king Attalus of Pergamus, that he might continue his tribunate; great insurrection of the aristocratic party under Scipio Nasica, and murder of Tiberius Gracchus, on the day of election of the new tribunes of the people.

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3. The fall of the chief of the new party, however, occasioned anything rather than its destruction. Not only was there no mention of an abrogation of the agrarian law, but the senate was obliged to allow the place in the commission, which had become vacant by the death of Gracchus, to be filled up; and Scipio Nasica himself was sent out of the way, under the pretext of an embassy to Asia. The party of the senate did, indeed, find a powerful support for a short time in the return of Scipio Æmilianus (*d.* 129) from Spain; but its greatest support was found in the difficulties of the law itself, which prevented its execution.

his fall does
not destroy
his party.

B.C. 132.

Great revolt of the slaves in Sicily under Eunus, 134—131. This contributed not a little to keep alive the dissensions, as it showed the necessity of a reform.

4. Evident endeavours of the tribunes of the people to increase their power, Gracchus having now awakened them to a sense of it. Not satisfied with a seat and voice in the senate, Carbo wished that the renewing of their dignity should be passed into a law. By the removal, however, of the chiefs of the lower party, upon honourable pretexts, new troubles were put off for some years.

The tribunes endeavour to increase their power.

130.

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First establishment of the Roman power in transalpine Gaul by M. Fulvius Flaccus, through their sending help to Massilia, 128. Southern Gaul became a Roman province as early as 122, in consequence of the defeat of the Allobrogi and Averni by Q. Fabius, who had been sent against them to support the *Ædui*, the allies of Rome. Capture of the Balearian isles by Metellus, 123. Quæstorship of C. Gracchus in Sicily, 128—125.

C. Grac-
chus.

5. These palliative remedies, however, availed nothing after the return of C. Gracchus from Sicily with a full determination to tread in the footsteps of his brother. Like him, it is true, he fell a victim to his enterprise; but the storm that he raised during the two years of his tribunate fell so much the more heavily, as its gathering was more from a general excitation, and from his possessing more of the shining talents necessary to form a powerful demagogue than his brother.

First tribunate of C. Gracchus, 123. Renewing and rendering more strict the agrarian law. Nevertheless, as he increased the fermentation by his popular measures and by acting the demagogue, and obtained the renewal of the tribunate for the following year, 122, he so far extended his plan, as to render it not only highly dangerous to the aristocracy, but even to the state itself. Establishment of distributions of corn to the poor people. Plan for the formation of the knights (*ordo equestris*) into a political body, as a counterbalance to the senate, by conferring on it the *judicia*, and by taking it from the senate. Still more important project of granting to the Italian allies the privileges of Roman citizenship: and also the formation of colonies, not only in Campania, but also out of Italy, in Carthage. The highly refined policy of the senate, however, by lessening the man of the people in the eyes of his admirers, through the assistance of the tribune Livius Drusus, prevented his complete triumph; and once declining, Gracchus soon experienced the fate of every demagogue, whose complete fall is then irretrievable. General insurrection, and assassination of C. Gracchus, 121.

3. The victory of the aristocratic faction was at the same time not only much more certain and bloody, but they turned the advantages it gave them to their own good account, that they eluded the agrarian law of Gracchus, and indeed, at last, completely evaded it. But the seeds of discord already sown, especially among the Italian allies, could not be choked; after the subjects of these states had once conceived the idea that they were entitled to a share in the government. How soon these party-struggles might be renewed, or indeed a civil war break out, depended almost entirely upon foreign circumstances, and the chance of a bolder leader being found.

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Victory of the aristocratic faction.

The agrarian law evaded: at first by the abolition of the inalienability of the national lands already divided, whereby the patricians were enabled to buy them again;—afterwards by the *Lex Thoria*: complete stop put to all farther divisions, a land-tax, equally distributed among the people, being instituted in its stead; even this latter was very soon annulled.

D. H. HEGEWISCH, *History of the Civil Wars of the Gracchi*. Altona, 1801.

History of the Revolution of the Gracchi in my Miscellaneous Historical Works. Vol. iii. 1821.

7. Visible effects of this party-spirit upon the morals, which now began to decline the more rapidly, as the increase of foreign intercourse tended also to corrupt them. Neither the severity of the censorship, nor the laws against luxury (*leges sumptuariæ*), nor those which now became necessary against celibacy, could be of much service in this respect. This degeneracy was not only to be found in the cupidity of the higher ranks, but also in the licentiousness of the lower classes.

Effects of this party-spirit in corrupting the nation.

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Luxury in Rome was displayed in the public administration (through the excessive enrichment of the treasury, especially in the Macedonian wars) before it infected private life; and the avarice of the great long preceded the latter. The sources whence they satisfied this passion were found in the extortions of the governors of provinces, their great power, and the distance from Rome rendering the *leges repetundarum* of but little effect. Probably the endeavours of the allied princes and kings to gain a party in the senate was a still more fruitful source, as they could obtain their end only by purchase, and so gave a new impulse to the cupidity and intriguing disposition of the members of that council. But private luxury requires everywhere some time to ripen. It attained its height immediately after the Mithridatic wars.

† D. MEINER, *History of the Corruption of the Morals and Constitution of the Romans*. Leips. 1782.

† MEIEROTTO, *Morals and Manners of the Romans at different periods of the Republic*. Berlin, 1776. Which considers the subject in several points of view.

† C. A. BOTTIGER, *Sabina, or, morning scenes at the toilette of a rich Roman lady*. Leips. 1806, 2 vols. A true and lively description of the luxury of the Roman ladies, but principally at its most brilliant period. It has been translated into French.

The African
war against
Jugurtha.

B. C.
118—106.

C. Marius

8. This corruption was manifested in a striking manner in the next great war that Rome entered into, which was in Africa, against Jugurtha of Numidia, the adopted grandson of Masinissa; and soon after against his ally Bocchus of Mauritania. Kindled and maintained by the avarice of the Roman nobles, which Jugurtha had already had an opportunity of knowing at the siege of Numantia; this war paved the way to the aggrandizement of C. Marius, a new demagogue, who, being as well a formidable general, did much more harm to the state than even the Gracchi.

Commencement of the quarrel of Jugurtha with the two sons of Micipsa, and assassination of Hiempsal, one of them, 118.—

When the other, Adherbal, arrived at Rome, 117, the party of Jugurtha had already succeeded, and obtained a partition of the kingdom. New attack upon Adherbal, who is besieged in Cirta, and, notwithstanding the repeated embassies of Rome to Jugurtha, is compelled to surrender, and is put to death, 112. The tribune C. Memmius constrains the senate to declare war against Jugurtha; but Jugurtha purchases a peace of the consul Calpurnius Piso, 111.—Nevertheless Memmius hinders the ratification of the peace, and Jugurtha is required to justify himself in Rome. He would probably, however, have bought his acquittal, if the murder of his kinsman Massiva, 110, by the help of Bomilcar, had not rendered it impossible. The war renewed under the consul Sp. Albinus and his brother Aulus, 110, very unfortunate until the incorruptible Q. Metellus takes the command, 109, who would have put an end to the war, notwithstanding the great talents now displayed as a general by Jugurtha, and his alliance with Bocchus, 108, had he not been supplanted by Marius, who obtains the consulship by his popularity, 107. Marius is obliged to have recourse to perfidy to get Jugurtha into his hands, who is betrayed by Bocchus, 106. Numidia is divided between Bocchus and two grandsons of Masinissa, Hiempsal and Hiarbas.

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PERIOD.

9. The elevation of Marius to the consulate not only humbled the power of the aristocracy, but also showed, for the first time, that the way was open to a man of low birth (*homo novus*) to the highest offices; the method however which he had taken to form his army, entirely against the Roman custom, that is, of composing it of the lower orders (*capite censis*), must have rendered him doubly formidable. Nevertheless, he would scarcely have effected so great a change in the constitution, if a new and terrible war had not rendered his services indispensable:—this was the threatened invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, the most powerful nations of the north, during which a new and violent rebellion of the slaves was raging in Sicily:—for after the defeat

obtains the
consulate;

defeats the
Cimbri and
Teutones;

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PERIOD.

of so many Roman armies, the people believed that no one but the conqueror of Jugurtha could save Italy; and Marius knew so well how to turn this to account, that he remained consul during four successive years.

The Cimbri, or Cimmerians, probably a nation of German origin, from beyond the Black sea, put in motion an emigration of nations which reached from thence to Spain. Their march was perhaps occasioned, or accelerated, by the Scythian war of Mithridates; and their course, like that of most nomad races, was from east to west along the Danube. They had already, in 113, defeated the consul Papirius Carbo near Noreia in Styria. In their progress towards the west they were joined by German, Celtic, and Helvetic tribes (the *Teutones*, *Ambrones*, and *Tigurians*).—Attack Roman Gaul, 109, where they demand settlements and defeat Junius Silanus the consul.—Defeat of L. Cassius Longinus and M. Aurelius Scaurus, 107.—Great defeat of the Romans in Gaul, 105, occasioned by the disagreement of their generals, the consuls, Cn. Manlius and Q. Servilius Cæpio. Marius obtains the command, and remains consul from 104—101. The migrations of the Cimbri—a part of whom reach the Pyrenees, but are driven back by the Celtiberians, 103—give Marius time to complete his army. In 102, after dividing themselves, they first attempted to penetrate into Italy: the *Teutones* through Provence, and the Cimbri by Tyrol.—Great defeat and slaughter of the *Teutones* by Marius, near Aix, 102.—The Cimbri, on the contrary, effect an invasion and make progress till Marius comes to the help of Catullus. Great battle and defeat of the Cimbri near the Po, July 30, 101.

J. MULLER, *Bellum Cimbricum*. Tigur, 1772. A youthful essay of that celebrated historian. Compare

† MANNERT, *Geography*, etc. part iii.

buys his
sixth consu-
late.

10. Although during this war the power of the popular party had sensibly increased, yet the storm did not break out until Marius *bought* himself his sixth consulate. Now, even in Rome itself, he wished to avenge himself upon his

enemies; and what could the senate do, when it had at its head a demagogue in the consul himself?—His league with the tribune Saturnius, and the pretor Glaucias, forming already a true triumvirate, would have overthrown the republic after the expulsion of Metellus, if the unbridled licentiousness of the gangs connected with his allies, had not obliged him to break with them, lest he should sacrifice the whole of his popularity.

The measures of this cabal, who wished to appear as if treading in the steps of the Gracchi, were principally directed against Q. Metellus, the chief of the party of the senate, and who, since the African war, had been the mortal foe of Marius. After the exile of Metellus, occasioned by his opposition to a new agrarian law, this faction usurped the rights of the people, and lorded it in the committees, until, at a new election of consuls, a general revolt took place of all the well-disposed citizens against them, and which Marius himself favoured; Saturnius and Glaucias were besieged in the capitol, forced to surrender, and executed. The return of Metellus from his voluntary exile soon followed, 92, much against the will of Marius, who was obliged to retire into Asia.

11. The few years of tranquillity which Rome now enjoyed, brought to maturity many benefits and many evils, the seeds of which had been already sown. On one hand the rising eloquence of an Antonius, a Crassus, and others, was employed with effect against the oppressors of the provinces in the state trials (*questiones*); and some generous spirits used all their endeavours to heal the wounds of Sicily, Asia, and other provinces, by a better administration; while, on the other hand, the power of the *ordo equestris* became a source of much abuse: for besides their right to sit in the tribunals (*judiciis*), which C. Gracchus had con-

B. C. 98—
91.

THIRD
PERIOD.

ferred upon them, they had also obtained the farming of the leases, and thereby the collection of the revenue in the provinces; by which means they were enabled not only to oppose every reform that was attempted in the latter, but even in Rome to hold the senate in a state of dependence. The struggle which now arose between them and the senate respecting the *judicia* (or right to preside in the tribunal) was one of the most fatal for the republic, as the *judicia* was abused by them for the satisfying their personal rancour, and oppressing the greatest men. The tribune M. Livius Drusus the younger, it is true, wrested from them half their power; but, alas! the manner in which he did it blew into a flame the fire which had been smouldering from the time of the Gracchi.

Acquisition of Cyrene by the testament of king Apion, 97; notwithstanding which it maintained its independence, although probably by paying a tribute. Reconciliation of the differences between the kings of Asia Minor by the pretor Sylla, 92 (see above, p. 291).

War of the
allies, B. C.
91—88.

12. Revolt of the Italian tribes, who desire to obtain the right of Roman citizens; whereupon the bloody *war of the allies* ensues. Although Roman oppression had long been preparing this, yet it was the intrigues of the Roman demagogues, who, since the law of the younger Gracchus, had continually flattered them with the hope of partaking of the rights of Roman citizenship, that they might make themselves popular among them, which in fact caused it to break out. It was however soon seen, that the allies were not at a loss among themselves for leaders,

capable of forming great plans and executing them with vigour. Italy was about to become a republic, with Corfinium for its capital instead of Rome. Neither could Rome save herself therefrom, but by gradually granting the allies the complete freedom of the city.

After the civil wars of the Gracchi, large bands of the allies were continually flowing to Rome. These were in the pay of the demagogues, whom the *lex Licinia*, 95, had banished from Rome, and thereby laid the foundation of the revolt. From that time the conspiracy among these tribes began, and attained without interruption such a degree of maturity, that the carelessness of Rome can only be accounted for from the party-fury which then existed, and which the *lex Varia*, 91, against the promoters of rebellion, served only to inflame the more. The murder of the tribune Livius Drusus, 91, a very ambiguous character, brought the affair to a rupture. In this alliance were the Marsi, Picentes, Peligni, Marrucini, Frentani, Samnites, who played a principal part, Hirpini, Apuli, Lucani. In this war, which was so much the more bloody, as it was mostly composed of separate contests and sieges, especially of the Roman colonies, Cn. Pompeius, the elder, L. Cato, Marius, and, above all, Sylla, particularly distinguished themselves on the side of the Romans; and among the generals of the allies Pompadius, C. Papius, etc.—Concession of the freedom of the city, first to such allies as remained faithful, the Latins, Umbrians, etc. by the *lex Julia*, 91: afterwards, by degrees, to the remainder by the *lex Plotia*. Some, nevertheless, still remained in arms.

HEYNE, *de Belli Socialis causis et eventu in Opusc. t. iii.*

13. The war, now just ended, essentially changed the constitution of Rome, as she no longer remained, as hitherto, the exclusive head of the whole state; and although the new citizens were only formed into eight tribes, yet their influence must soon have been felt in the *comitia*, on account of the readiness with which they promoted factions. Besides this, the long-cherished

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private hatred between Marius and Sylla was greatly strengthened by this war, as Sylla's fame was considerably raised thereby, while that of Marius was diminished. An opportunity was only wanted, like that which the first Pontine war soon gave, to stir up a new civil war, which threatened to destroy the liberty of Rome.

Alliance of
Marius with
Sulpicius
against
Sylla,
B. C. 88.

14. Alliance of Marius with the tribune Sulpicius, that by their faction they might wrest from Sylla the command of the forces against Mithridates, already conferred upon him by the senate. The ease with which Sylla, at the head of an army on which he could depend, expelled the chiefs of the faction, seems to have left him ignorant of the fact, that the party thereby was not destroyed. However judicious may have been his other measures, the elevation of Cinna to the consulship was a state-fault of which Italy had still more reason to repent than himself. How much blood might have been spared if Sylla had not unseasonably wished to become popular!

Proposition of Sulpicius for an indiscriminate distribution of the new citizens and freemen among all the tribes of Italy, that he might thereby gain a strong party in his favour; and which, by a violent assembly of the people, transfers the command from Sylla to Marius. March of Sylla upon Rome, and expulsion of Marius, who, by a series of adventures almost surpassing belief, escapes to Africa and is proscribed with his son and ten of his partisans. Reestablishment of the power of the senate, whose number is made up by three hundred knights. Sylla, after having caused his friend C. Octavius, and his enemy L. Cinna, to be elected consuls, hastens back to Greece.

First war
against Mi-
thridates.
89-85.

15. First war against Mithridates the Great. Sylla gains several victories over that king's generals in Greece; wrests from him all his

conquests, and restricts him to his hereditary dominions. Though Rome since the time of Hannibal had seen no such opponent as the king of Pontus, who in a few months had become master of all Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, and threatened even Italy itself, we must consider besides, that the war on the side of Rome was carried on in a manner altogether different from that of any previous one; as Sylla, after the victory of the opposite party, being himself proscribed in Rome, was obliged to continue it with his own army, and his own private resources. The unfortunate countries which were the theatre of this war, felt as many calamities during the struggle, as Italy was doomed to suffer after its close.

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His great
power:

that of
Rome di-
vided.

Commencement of the war by Mithridates before the termination of that of the allies, 89, by taking possession of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. He was not less formidable by his alliance with the tribes along the Danube, and his navy, than by his land forces; and the irritation of the people of Asia against Rome rendered his enterprise still more easy. Double victory over Nicomedes king of Bithynia and the Roman general M. Aquilius, followed by the conquest of all Asia Minor except the isle of Rhodes. Massacre of all the Roman citizens in the states of Asia Minor. Expedition of the king's army into Greece, under the command of his general Archelaus, who makes Athens the theatre of the war, 88. Siege and capture of the unfortunate Athens by Sylla, 1st March, 87. Repeated and great defeats of Mithridates's army under the command of Archelaus, near Chalcis, and afterwards near Orchomenus, by Sylla, 86, whose general plan was formed upon the entire destruction of his enemies. Negotiations for peace commenced by Archelaus, and finally settled at a personal conference between Sylla and Mithridates. The opposite party in Rome, however, had in the mean time sent a new army into Asia Minor, to act as well against Sylla as against Mithridates, under the command of L. Valerius Flaccus, who, however, is assassinated by his lieutenant Fimbria. The

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latter gains some advantages over the king, but, being shut up by Sylla, kills himself. By the licentiousness of his army, which Sylla dared not restrain, by the heavy contributions exacted by Sylla in Asia Minor after the peace, to enable him to carry on the war in Italy, 84, and by the bodies of pirates which were formed out of the fleet disbanded by Mithridates, these unfortunate countries became almost entirely ruined; the opulent cities more especially.

New revolution in Rome

under Cinna and Marius.

16. But during this war a new revolution took place in Rome, which not only overthrew the order reestablished by Sylla, but also, by the victory of the democratic faction under Cinna and Marius, gave rise to a wild anarchy of the people, and which the death of Marius, unfortunately too late for Rome, only rendered more destructive, as the leaders themselves could no longer restrain the savage bands of their own party. However dreadful the prospect of the return of the proscribed Sylla might seem, it was nevertheless the only hope that remained for all those who had not joined the popular faction, or had not some connexion with its leaders.

Insurrection of Cinna, at the instigation of the proscribed, soon after the departure of Sylla. Cinna, by distributing the new citizens into all the tribes, hopes to raise himself a party; but C. Octavius, at the head of the senate and the old citizens, drives him from Rome and forces him to give up the consulship, 87. He soon however raises a powerful army in Campania, and recalls Marius from exile. Capture and pillage of the already famished Rome, and horrible massacre; after which Marius and Cinna name themselves consuls and banish Sylla. Death of Marius, 13th Jan. 86. C. Papirius Carbo succeeds him in the consulship. The mediation of the senate is useless, as the chiefs of both parties can only hope for security by the annihilation of their adversaries. The murder of Cinna by his own soldiers, 84, entirely deprives the dominant faction of a competent leader. Neither the cowardly Carbo, although he remained sole consul, nor the sto-

pid Narbonus, nor the youth C. Marius (the son), had sufficient personal authority for that purpose; and Sertorius leaves Italy in good time to kindle a new flame in Spain.

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17. Return of Sylla to Italy, and terrible bloody civil war, which is only closed by the extermination of the democratic faction, and by his elevation to the perpetual dictatorship. Although his enemies had so much advantage over him in point of numbers, yet their party had so little firmness in itself, that he with his veterans could not fail to obtain an easy victory. The slaughter during this war fell for the most part upon the Italian tribes, who had joined the party of Marius, whereby Sylla found means to gain settlements for his own soldiers; but Rome herself suffered most of the horrors of this revolution after the day of victory was past. Sylla's proscription, which should only have punished his personal enemies, was the signal for a general massacre, as every one took that opportunity to rid himself of his private foes; and avarice did as much as vengeance. Who in these days, so terrible to Italy, was sure of his life or property? And yet, when we consider the dreadful circumstances which attended the foregoing dominion of the people, and deduct all that was done without Sylla's knowledge, remembering that he was compelled to give satisfaction to his army, we shall find it difficult to say how far he deserves the reproach of wanton cruelty.

Sylla's return, and bloody civil war, B. C. 83.

Sylla's proscription.

Sylla's arrival; victory over Narbonus immediately after, and seduction of the army of the consul Scipio, 82. After this almost every person of distinction declared in his favour, and the young Pompey having brought to him an army which he had

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himself raised, his party acquired more consideration, and himself more power. Victory over the younger Marius, near Sacripontus, who throws himself into Præneste, where he is besieged. But the great battle gained before the gates of Rome, over the Samnites under the command of Telisinus, was decisive, and was followed by the fall of Præneste and the capture of Rome. After the proscription which immediately followed, Sylla is created perpetual dictator, and secures his power in Rome by giving freedom to 10,000 slaves, whose masters he had proscribed; and in Italy by colonies of his veterans, whom he established at the expense of his enemies.

Reform in
the consti-
tution:

B. C.
81—79.

Power of
the senate
restored.

Sylla's ab-
dication,
79.

18. Great reform in the constitution during the two years' dictatorship of Sylla. The aristocracy of the senate, which he filled up with knights, was not only reestablished, but he also stopped the sources whence had hitherto flowed the great disorders of the democracy. The cause of his voluntary abdication is probably only to be found in his natural idleness, which led him to prefer a life of luxurious indolence to one of laborious activity, when he was no longer spurred to it by his passions. He had, however, the great advantage over Marius, of not being the sport of his own feelings. The conduct of Sylla, indeed, was so consistent throughout, that it satisfactorily shows he knew very well what was his ultimate aim;—Marius never did.

Internal regulations of Sylla by the *leges Corneliae*. 1. Law to restrain the influence of the tribunes, by taking from them their legislative power. 2. Law respecting the obtaining magistracies: the number of pretors fixed to eight, and the questors to twenty. 3. *Lex de majestate*, especially to limit the power of the governors of provinces, and to abolish their exactions. 4. *Lex de judiciis*, whereby the *judicia* were again restored to the senate. 5. Several police regulations, *de sicariis*, *de reu-ficiis*, etc. for the preservation and tranquillity of Rome, upon which everything depended. 6. The *lex de civitate*, taking

from the Latins and several Italian cities and tribes the privileges of Roman citizens, upon which they set so much store, although we scarcely know in what they consisted. *Foreign wars:* War in Africa against the leaders of the democratic faction, Cn. Domitius and king Hiarbas, which is ended by a triumph to Pompey, 80. Second war against Mithridates begun by Murena, in hopes of obtaining a triumph, to whom Archelaus comes over, partly at his instigation, but which, under the command of Sylla, terminates in an accommodation, 81.

19. Nevertheless it was impossible that the enactments of Sylla should be long observed; as the evil lay too deep to be eradicated by laws. A free state like that of Rome, with no middle class, must, from its nature, be exposed to continual convulsions, and these will be more or less violent according to the power of the state. Besides, as in the last revolution almost all property had changed hands, there was spread over all Italy a powerful party, who desired nothing so eagerly as a counter-revolution. And to this we may add, that there were many young men, such as Lucullus, Crassus, and above all Pompey, who had opened to themselves a career, during the late troubles, which they could scarcely yet wish to bring to a close. It will not then appear strange, that immediately after the death of Sylla († 88), a consul, M. Æmilius Lepidus, should form the design of becoming a second Marius; a design which could only be frustrated by the courage and activity of so great a citizen as Q. Lutatius Catullus, his colleague.

A state like Rome exposed to convulsions.

Counter-revolution desired by many.

Æmilius Lepidus.

Attempt of Lepidus to rescind the acts of Sylla, 78. Defeated, first before Rome and again in Etruria, by Catullus and Pompey, 7, after which he dies in Sardinia.

20. But much more dangerous for Rome might Civil war of

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Sertorius in
Spain.

B.C.
77—72.

have been the civil war Sertorius had kindled in Spain, if the plan of that exalted republican to invade Italy had succeeded. Even Pompey himself, after a six years' struggle, would hardly have hindered it, if the worthlessness of the Roman vagabonds who surrounded him, and his assassination by Perpenna, had not done it. The rapid termination of the war after the fall of its conductor, is a circumstance much more glorious for Sertorius than for the conqueror Pompey.

The forces of Sertorius, in Spain, consisted not only of the party of Marius which he had collected, but more essentially of the Spaniards, particularly the Lusitanians, whom he had inspired with an unbounded confidence in himself. Very variable success of the war against Metellus and Pompey, who receive but very little support from Rome, 77—75. Negotiation of Sertorius with Mithridates the Great, and interchange of embassies without any important result, 75. Sertorius assassinated by Perpenna, 72.

The third
Mithridatic
war; com-
bined with
the servile
war, and
that of the
pirates,

21. Ere, however, the flame of war was totally extinguished in the west, Mithridates kindled a new and still much larger one in the east; at the same time a war of slaves and gladiators was raging with terrible fury in Italy itself; and whole fleets of pirates not only ravaged the Italian coasts, but threatened Rome herself with a famine, and forced her to a naval warfare of altogether a peculiar kind. All these enemies were not without intelligence with one another; and colossal as was the power of the republic at that time, and rich as she was in distinguished men, it seems probable that the storm which beat on every side between 75—71, would have razed her to the ground, if a stricter alliance could have been formed between Sertorius, Spartacus, and Mithri-

threatens
the downfall
of Rome.

dates. But the great difficulty of communication which at that time existed, and without which probably a republic such as the Roman never could have been formed, proved of more assistance at this crisis than at any other.

The third Mithridatic war, occasioned by the will of Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who had bequeathed his kingdom to Rome 75 (see above, p. 291), was carried on in Asia Minor, first by Lucullus, 74—67, and afterwards by Pompey, 66—64. Mithridates being better prepared, had already concluded an alliance with Sertorius in Spain, 75. But the deliverance of Cyzicus by Lucullus, 73, and the defeat of the king's fleet, intended to act against Italy, not only frustrated all his original plans, but were followed by the occupation of his own dominions, 72 and 71, by the enemy, notwithstanding a new army which Mithridates collected, mostly from the nomad hordes of Northern Asia. Flight of Mithridates to Tigranes, 71, who positively refused to deliver him up, and formed an alliance with him, 70; while the Parthian, Arsaces XII. held both parties in suspense by negotiations. Victory of Lucullus over the allied sovereigns, near Tigranocerta, 69, and Artaxata, 68; but the mutinies which now broke out among his troops not only hindered him from following up these advantages, but turned the scale so much in Mithridates's favour, that in 68 and 67 he quickly regained almost all his dominions, even while the Roman commissioners were on their route to take possession of them. Lucullus, who by his reform in the finances of Asia Minor had formed a powerful party against himself in Rome, lost thereby his command.

22. The war of the slaves and gladiators, which happened at nearly the same time, was, from the theatre of action being in its neighbourhood, equally dangerous to Rome; it became also more terrible from the violence with which these outraged beings sought to revenge their wrongs, and formidable from the talents of their leader Spartacus; and the conclusion of this struggle seemed, therefore, of so much importance to Rome, that it

The servile
war, B.C.
73—71,

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PERIOD.
terminated
by Crassus.

gave to M. Crassus a much higher influence in the state than he could ever have obtained by his riches alone.

Commencement of this war by a number of runaway gladiators, who, being strengthened by a revolt, almost general, of the slaves in Campania, 73, soon became very formidable. The defeat of four generals, one after the other, throws open to Spartacus the road to the Alps, and enables him to leave Italy; but the greediness of booty manifested by his hordes, who wished to plunder Rome, obliges him to return. Crassus takes the command and rescues Rome, 72; upon which Spartacus retires into Lower Italy, hoping to form a junction with the pirates, and to carry the war into Sicily, but is deceived by them, 71. His complete defeat on the Silarus, 71. Pompey, then returning from Spain, finds means to seize a sprig of the laurel chaplet which by right should have adorned only the brow of Crassus; hence arises a misunderstanding between these two commanders, during their consulate, 70, dangerous to the state.

The war
against the
pirates;

23. The war against the pirates of Sicily and Isaurus was not only very important in itself, but still more so by its consequences. It procured for Pompey a legal power such as no Roman general had ever before enjoyed; and the quick and glorious manner in which he brought it to a close, opened for him the way to the great object of his ambition—the conduct of the war in Asia against Mithridates.

terminated
by Pompey.

The causes by which the pirates had now got the upperhand, were the great negligence of the Romans in sea affairs (see page 344), the war against Mithridates, who had taken the pirates into his pay, and the Roman oppressions in Asia Minor. War had been undertaken against them as early as 75, by P. Servilius; but his victories, though they earned him the surname of *Isauricus*, did them but little harm. They were to be dreaded, not only for their piracies, but because they besides offered an easy means of communication between the other enemies of Rome from Spain to Asia. The new attack of the

pretor M. Antonius upon Crete, proved a complete failure ; but it was the cause of that hitherto independent island being again attacked, 68, by Metellus, and reduced to a Roman province, 67. Pompey takes the command against the pirates with extraordinary privileges, obtained for him by Gabinus, and finishes the war in forty days, 67.

24. After these triumphs over so many enemies, Mithridates was the only one which now remained ; and Pompey had here again the good fortune to conclude a struggle already nearly concluded ; for notwithstanding his late success, Mithridates had never been able completely to recover himself. His fall without doubt raised the power of Rome in Asia Minor to its highest pitch ; but it gave her, at the same time, the Parthians for neighbours.

Fall of Mithridates.

Pompey obtains the conduct of the war against Mithridates with very extensive privileges, procured for him by the tribune Manilius (*lex Manilia*), notwithstanding the opposition of Catullus, 67. His victory by night, near the Euphrates, 66. Subjection of Tigranes, while Mithridates flies into the Crimea, 65, whence he endeavours to renew the war. Campaign of Pompey in the countries about the Caucasus, 65 ; he marches thence into Syria, 64. The defection of his son Phraates causes Mithridates to put a period to his existence, 63. Settlement of Asiatic affairs by Pompey : besides the ancient province of Asia, the countries along the coast north of Bithynia, nearly all Paphlagonia and Pontus, are formed into a Roman province, under the name of Bithynia ; while on the south coast Cilicia and Pamphylia form another under the name of Cilicia ; Phœnicia and Syria compose a third, under the name of Syria. Great Armenia, on the contrary, is left to Tigranes ; Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes ; the Bosphorus to Pharnaces ; Judæa to Hyrcanus (see page 307) ; and some other small states are besides given to petty princes, all of whom remain dependent on Rome. The tribes inhabiting Thrace during the Mithridatic war, are first defeated by Sylla, 85, and their power afterwards is nearly destroyed by the proconsuls of Macedonia : as by Appius, 77 ; by Curio, who drives them

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to the Danube, 75—73; and especially by M. Lucullus, while his brother is contending in Asia. Not only the security of Macedonia, but the daring plans of Mithridates rendered this necessary.

State of
Rome;

changes in
her consti-
tution;

the restora-
tion of the
power of
the tri-
bunes.

25. The fall of Mithridates raised the republic to the highest pitch of her power: there was no longer any foreign foe of whom she could be afraid. But her internal administration had undergone great changes during these wars. Sylla's aristocratic constitution was shaken by Pompey, in a most essential point, by the reestablishment of the power of the tribunes, which was done because neither he nor any leading men could obtain their ends without their assistance. It was by their means that Pompey had procured such unlimited power in his two late expeditions, that the existence of the republic was thereby endangered. It was, however, a fortunate circumstance for Rome, that Pompey's vanity was sufficiently gratified by his being at the head of affairs, where he avoided the appearance of an oppressor.

Reiterated attempts of the tribune Sicinius to annul the constitution of Sylla defeated by the senate, 76. But so early as 75 Opimius obtained that the tribunes should not be excluded from honourable offices, and that the judgments (*judicia*) should be restored to the knights (*equites*). The attempts of Licinius Macer, 72, to restore the tribunes to all their former powers, endured but a short opposition; and their complete reestablishment was effected by Pompey and Crassus during their consulate, 70.

This victory
of the de-
mocrats
leads to an
oligarchy.
70.

Catiline's
conspiracy.

26. This victory of the democratic faction, however, necessarily led the way, by the use made of it by some leading men, to an oligarchy, which from the consulate of Pompey and Crassus became very oppressive. Catiline's conspiracy, which was not matured till after several attempts,

would have broken up this confined aristocracy, and placed the state rudder in the hands of another and still more dangerous faction: a faction composed in part of needy profligates and criminals dreading the punishment of their crimes, and partly of ambitious nobles. It occasioned a short civil war; but procured Cicero a place in the administration. With what pleasure do we forgive the little weaknesses and failings of one so gifted with talents and virtue! of one who first taught Rome, in so many ways, what it was to be great in the robe of peace!

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Cicero.

Catiline's first conspiracy, in which Cicero and Crassus seem to have been complicated, 66, as well as in the second, 65: failure of the former by chance—of the latter through Piso's death. The third broke out in 64, as well in Rome, where the conspirators, having no armed force, were soon suppressed by the vigilance and activity of Cicero, 63, as in Etruria, where a victory of the proconsul Antonius over Catiline, who was left dead on the field, concluded it, 62.

27. The suppression of this conspiracy, however, did not stay the effect which the recently concluded Asiatic war had upon the Roman manners. The luxury of the east, though united with the good taste of the Grecians, and introduced among the great by Lucullus; the immense riches poured into the treasury by Pompey; the unlimited power which some citizens had attained; the venality of the magistracy, in which after squandering millions, like Verres, they enriched themselves again in the provinces; the demands of the soldiers or their generals, together with the ease with which an army might be raised by those who had money to pay them;—all these

Effects of
the Asiatic
war on the
Roman
manners.

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PERIOD.

causes must have forboded new commotions at every opportunity, even if the preceding disorders of this colossal republic—in which we must now judge of virtues and vices, as well as of riches and power, by a very magnified standard—had not formed men of so gigantic a character: men who like Cato struggled alone to stem the impetuous torrent of the revolution, and was sufficiently powerful to stay its progress for a time; or, like Pompey, the child of fortune, and who, possessing the art to make himself of importance, arose to a degree of authority and power never before attained by any citizen of a free state; or, like Crassus, “who only considered those as rich who could maintain an army by their own private means,” founded their pretensions on wealth; or, finally, like the aspiring and now powerful Cæsar, whose boundless ambition could only be surpassed by his talents, and courage, “who would rather be the first in a village than the second in Rome.” —The return of Pompey from Asia, threatening the senate with a new dictator, seems an important crisis.

Attempt of Pompey, through the tribune Metellus Nepos, to be allowed to return to Rome at the head of his army, frustrated by the firmness of Cato, 62.

Pompey's return re-
vives the
struggle be-
tween him
and the se-
nate, 61.

28. The arrival of Pompey in Rome renewed the struggle between the senate and that powerful general, although he had disbanded his army on landing in Italy. The ratification of his management of affairs in Asia, which was the chief point of contention, was opposed by the leading men of the senate, Cato, the two Metelli, and Lucullus,

and Pompey to obtain his end was induced to attach himself entirely to the popular party, by whose means he hoped to effect it; Cæsar's return, however, from his province of Lusitania, entirely changed the face of affairs.

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PERIOD.
Cæsar's re-
turn from
Lusitania,
B. C. 61.

29. Close union between Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; that is, a secret alliance, formed by the interposition of Cæsar. What was for Pompey and Crassus the final object of their ambition, only offered to Cæsar the means by which he was able to effect his. His consulate—a kind of dictatorship under the mask of great popularity—necessarily paved the way to his future career, as by giving him the government of the two Gauls and Illyria for five years, it opened a wide field for conquest, and gave him an opportunity of forming an army devoted to his will.

Triumvirate
of Cæsar,
Pompey,
and Cras-
sus, 60.

Cæsar's
consulate,
59,

obtains him
the govern-
ment of the
two Gauls
and Illyria
for five
years.

Cæsar's abode and campaign in Gaul from the spring of 58 till the end of the year 50. By arresting the emigration of the Helvetians, and by the expulsion of the Germans, under Ariovistus, from Gaul, 58, Cæsar gained an opportunity of intermeddling in the internal affairs of that country, and afterwards of subduing it, which was completed by his victory over the Belgæ, 57, and the Aquitani, 56; so that Cæsar was at liberty to undertake his several expeditions, as well in Britain, 55 and 54, as in Germany, 54 and 53. But the repeated revolts of the Gauls, 53—51, especially under Vercingetoria, 52, caused as hot a war as their first conquest. Roman policy continued the same in this war. The Gauls were subdued, by the Romans appearing as *their deliverers*; and in the country they found allies in the Ædui, Allobroges, etc.

30. The triumvirate, to establish their power upon a solid foundation, took care, by the management of the tribune Clodius, to get rid of the leaders of the senate, Cato and Cicero, before the departure of Cæsar; and this they did by giving

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the former a kingdom to govern, and by procuring the banishment of the latter. They must however soon have discovered, that so bold a demagogue as Clodius could not be used as a mere machine. And, indeed, after Cæsar's departure he raised himself so much above the triumvirs, that Pompey was soon obliged, for his own preservation, to permit Cicero to return from exile, which could only be effected by the most violent efforts of the tribune Milo. The power of Clodius, however, was but little injured thereby, although Pompey, to put a stop to the source of these disorders, and revive his own popularity, got himself named *præfectus annonæ*, superintendent of provisions.

Exile of Cicero, the greater part of which he spent in Macedonia, from April, 58, till 4th Sept. 57. Ptolemey king of Cyprus deposed, and that island reduced to a Roman province by Cato, on the proposition of Clodius, 57 (see page 261). The personal dislike of Clodius and the riches of the king were the causes that brought upon him this misfortune.

MIDDLETON'S *Life of Cicero*, 2 vols. 8vo. Nearly a history of Rome during the age of Cicero: but with an overweening partiality for him.

† M. TULLIUS CICERO, *all his Letters translated in chronological order, and illustrated with notes*, by C. M. WIELAND, Zurich, 1808. With a preliminary view of the life of Cicero. Of all Germans the writings of Wieland, whether original or translations (and to which can we give the preference?) afford the most lively insight into Greek and Roman antiquity at various periods. What writer has so truly seized its spirit, and placed it so faithfully and elegantly before his readers? His labours on the Letters of Cicero (let not his manes be troubled at the merciless unveiling of his mind) make us much better acquainted with Rome, as it then was, than any Roman history.

Jealousy of
the trium-
virate.

31. A jealousy arises between the triumvirate, because the absent Cæsar finds means to keep

up his party at Rome in such watchful activity, that Pompey and Crassus found themselves unable to maintain their authority, except by procuring such concessions as had been made to him. Harmony is once more restored by an accommodation at Lucca; because they are yet necessary to one another.

Conditions of this accommodation: for Cæsar, to have his government prolonged for another five years; for Pompey and Crassus, the consulship for the ensuing year, and for the former the provinces of Spain and Africa; for the latter that of Syria, that he might carry on a war against the Parthians. In proportion as these conditions were preserved a secret, there remained less respecting the alliance between these three men.

32. Second consulate of Pompey and Crassus. Only amidst violent storms could they effect their purposes: it depended upon which faction should first gain or keep possession of the forum. The opposition which the unbending Cato opposed to them, who in his austere virtue alone found means to secure himself a powerful party, shows how unfairly those judge who consider the power of the triumvirate as unlimited, and the nation as entirely corrupted.

Second
consulate of
Pompey
and Cras-
sus,
B. C. 65.

Campaign of Crassus against the Parthians, undertaken at his own expense, 54. But instead of gathering laurels like Cæsar, he and his whole army were completely overthrown in Mesopotamia, 53; and the Parthians from this time maintain a powerful preponderance in Asia (see above, p. 295).

33. While the triumvirate in this manner became a duumvirate, Pompey, who remained in Rome, and governed his provinces by lieutenants, strove amidst these continual internal broils, which he cunningly took care to foment, to be-

Pompey
aspires to
become
head of the
republic;

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B. C. 53.

is appointed
sole consul,
52.

come the acknowledged head of the senate and republic. The idea that a dictator was necessary prevailed more and more during an anarchy of eight months, in which no appointment of a consul could take place; and notwithstanding the opposition of Cato, Pompey succeeded, after a violent commotion, in which Clodius was murdered by Milo, in getting himself nominated sole consul; a power similar to that of dictator.

Consulate of Pompey, 52, in which, at the end of seven months, he took as colleague his father-in-law Metellus Scipio. The government of his provinces, which afterwards become the chief seat of the republicans, prolonged for five years.

Civil war
inevitable.

34. From this time civil war became inevitable; for not only the chiefs of the parties, but also their adherents desired it. The approach of the time when Cæsar's command would expire, necessarily hastened the crisis. Could it be supposed that the conqueror of Gaul would return to a private life, and leave his rival at the head of the republic? The steps taken on both sides towards an accommodation were only made to escape the odium which would attach to him who struck the first blow. But Pompey unfortunately could never understand his opponent, who did all himself, all completely, and all alone. The brilliant light in which Pompey now appeared, as *defender of the republic*, delighted him so much, that it made him forget what belonged to its defence; while Cæsar avoided, with the greatest care, every appearance of usurpation. The friend, the protector of the people against the usurpations of their enemies, was what he wished to seem.

Commencement of the contest upon Cæsar's demand to be allowed to hold the consulship while absent, 52. Cæsar, by the most lavish corruption, had increased his adherents in Rome, gained the tribunes, and among them especially the powerful speaker C. Curio (whom he did not think he purchased too dear by paying him about half a million sterling); by the latter it was suggested to Cæsar to make the proposition, that he would quit his command, and leave a successor to be appointed in his place, 51, if Pompey would likewise do the same: a proposition which created a prejudice much in his favour. Repeated, but feigned offers of both parties for an accommodation, 50, till a decree of the senate was passed, Jan. 7, 49, by which Cæsar was commanded "to disband his army under the penalty of being declared an enemy to the republic," without regard to the intercessions of the tribunes, whose flight to him gave an appearance of popularity to his party. Cæsar crosses the Rubicon, the boundary of his province.

35. The civil war now about to break out, seemed likely to spread over nearly all the countries of the Roman empire; as Pompey, finding it impossible to maintain himself in Italy, had chosen Greece for the principal theatre of the war; while his lieutenants, with the armies under their command, occupied Spain and Africa. Cæsar, by the able disposition of his legions, was everywhere present, without exciting beforehand any suspicion of his movements. A combination of circumstances, however, carried the war into Alexandria, and even as far as Pontus; indeed it might be called rather a series of six successive wars than merely one, all of which Cæsar, by flying with his legions from one quarter of the world to the other, ended, within five years, victoriously and in person.

Civil war
between
Cæsar and
Pompey.

Rapid occupation of Italy in sixty days (when the troops of Domitius surrendered at Corfinus), which, as well as Sicily and Sardinia, were subdued by Cæsar almost without

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opposition; Pompey, with his troops and adherents, having crossed over to Greece. Cæsar's first campaign in Spain against Pompey's generals, Afranius and Petreius, whom he forces to surrender; as a set off to this, loss of the légions under Curio in Africa. In December, 49, however, Cæsar is again in Italy, and named dictator, which he exchanges for the consulate. Spirited expedition into Greece with the ships collected together, Jan. 4, 49. Unfortunate engagement at Dyrrachium. Removal of the war into Thessaly, and decisive battle of Pharsalia, July 20, 48, after which Pompey flies to Alexandria, where he is killed on his landing. Cæsar arrives three days after him at Alexandria.

Cæsar again
dictator.

36. Cæsar, after the victory of Pharsalia, again nominated dictator, with great privileges. The death of Pompey, however, does not destroy his party; and the six months' war of Alexandria, as well as the expedition into Pontus against Pharnaces, gave them time to rally their forces both in Africa under Cato, and in Spain under the sons of Pompey.

During the Alexandrine war (see above, p. 262.) and the expedition against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates,—who had obtained the kingdom of his father, but was slain by Cæsar immediately after his arrival, 47,—great disorders had broken out in Rome, caused by the tribune Dolabella's flattering the people with the abolition of debts (*novæ tabulæ*); notwithstanding the military power of M. Antony, whom Cæsar had sent to Rome as master of the horse (*magister equitum*); as he, abandoned to revelry, favoured, at first, the projects of the tribune. Cæsar's return to Rome, December, 47, put an end, it is true, to these disorders; but the increase of the opposite party in Africa, and an insurrection among his soldiers, obliged him to set out for Africa immediately, January, 46. Victory near Thapsus over Scipio and Juba; after which Cato kills himself in Utica. Numidia, the kingdom of Juba, becomes a Roman province. Cæsar, after his return to Rome in June, is only able to stay there four months, as, before the end of the year, he is obliged to set out for Spain to crush the dangerous efforts of Pompey's two sons. Bloody battle at Munda, March, 45, after which Cneius is killed, but Sextus escapes to the Celtiberians.

37. Nothing seems more evident than that Cæsar did not, like Sylla, overthrow the republic for the purpose of reestablishing it; and it is perhaps impossible to say what could be the final views of a childless usurper, who throughout his whole career seemed only to be guided by an inordinate ambition, springing from a consciousness of superior powers, and to satisfy which, no means seemed to him difficult or unlawful. The period of his dictatorship was so short, and so much interrupted by war, that his ultimate plans had not time for their development. He endeavoured to establish his dominion by popular measures; and although his army must still have been his main support, yet no proscription was granted to satisfy it. The reestablishment of order in the distracted country of Italy, and particularly in the capital, was his first care; and he proposed to follow that by an expedition against the powerful Parthian empire. His attempts, however, to obtain the diadem, seemed to place it beyond a doubt that he wished to introduce a formal monarchy. But the destruction of the form of the republic was shown to be more dangerous than the overthrow of the republic itself.

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Inquiry into
the views
of Cæsar.

The following were the honours and privileges granted to Cæsar by the senate. After the battle of Pharsalia, 48, he was nominated dictator for one year and consul for five years; and obtained the *poteslas tribunicia*, as well as the right of making war and peace, the exclusive right of the committees, with the exception of the tribunes, and the possession of the provinces. The dictatorship was renewed to him, 47, for ten years, as well as the *præfectura morum*, and was at last, 145, conferred upon him for ever, with the title of *imperator*. Although Cæsar thus

THIRD PERIOD. became the absolute master of the republic, it appears to have been done without laying aside the republican forms.

Conspiracy
formed a-
gainst him,
B. C. 44.
by Brutus,
Cassius, etc.

38. Conspiracy against Cæsar, formed by Brutus and Cassius, and terminating in the death of Cæsar. Men so exalted as were the chiefs of this plot, easily understand one another; and it was quite in accordance with their character not to meditate upon the consequences of their deed. Cæsar's death was a great misfortune for Rome. Experience soon showed that the republic could not be reestablished thereby; and his life might probably have spared the state some of those calamities which now, by its change to a monarchy, became unavoidable.

His death,
March 15.

We still want a discriminating life of Cæsar, who in modern times has been as extravagantly praised as Alexander has been unjustly censured. As generals and conquerors, both were equally great—and little; as a man, however, the Macedonian, in the brilliant period of his life, to which Cæsar never attained, was superior; to the great political ideas which developed themselves in Alexander, we know of none corresponding in Cæsar; who knew better than any how to attain dominion, but little of preserving it.

Histoire de la Vie de Jules Cæsar, par M. DE BURY, Paris, 1758. 2 vols. 8vo.

† *Life of C. Julius Cæsar, by A. G. MEISSNER, continued by J. Ch. L. Haken, 1811, 4 parts. At present the best.*

Caius Julius Cæsar, from original sources, by PROFESSOR SÖLTL. A short biography, judiciously executed.

Amnesty
declared;
but not ap-
proved by
Antony and
Lepidus.

39. Notwithstanding the amnesty at first declared, the funeral obsequies of Cæsar soon showed, that peace was of all things the least desired by his generals, M. Antony and M. Lepidus, now become the head of his party; and the

arrival of Cæsar's nephew, C. Octavius (afterwards Cæsar Octavianus), whom he had adopted in his will, rendered affairs still more complicated, as everyone strove for himself, and Antony's particular object being to raise himself into Cæsar's place. However earnestly they sought to gain the people, it was in fact the legions who decided, and the command of them depended, for the most part, upon the possession of the provinces. We cannot therefore wonder, that while they sought to revenge the murder of Cæsar, this became the chief cause of the struggle, and in a few months led to a civil war.

At the time of Cæsar's death M. Antonius was actual consul, and Dolabella consul-elect; M. Lepidus *magister equitum*, (master of the horse); M. Brutus and Cassius, pretors (the first, *pretor urbanus*). Cæsar had given to the former the province of Macedonia, and to the latter that of Syria, which gifts had been confirmed to them by the senate. M. Lepidus had been nominated to Transalpine, and D. Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul. But soon after the murder of Cæsar, Antony obtained, by a decree of the people, Macedonia for himself, and Syria for his colleague Dolabella, with whom he had formed a close connection; instead of which the senate decreed to Cassius Cyrene, and to Brutus, who now had the important charge of supplying Rome with provisions, Crete. But soon after (June 1, 44), Antony desired, by a new change, to obtain Cisalpine Gaul for himself, and Macedonia for his brother C. Antony, both of which he procured from the people.

40. As M. Antony sought by force to establish himself in Cisalpine Gaul, and D. Brutus refused to give it up to him, but retired into Modena, a civil war arose, short, it is true, but very bloody (*bellum mutinense*). The eloquence of Cicero had caused Antony to be declared an enemy of

Antony endeavours to establish himself in Cisalpine Gaul.

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the republic; and the two new consuls, Hirtius and Pausa, together with Cæsar Octavianus, were sent against him. The defeat of Antony compelled him to seek refuge beyond the Alps with Lepidus; but the two consuls being slain, Octavianus at the head of his legions was too importunate to be refused the consulate, and soon convinced the defenceless senate, how impossible it was to reestablish the commonwealth by their powerless decrees. The employment, moreover, of the *magistratus suffecti*, which soon after arose, was in itself a sufficient proof that it was now no more than the shadow of what it had formerly been.

The war of Modena begins in December, 44, and closes with the defeat of Antony at Modena, April 14, 43. Octavius obtains the consulate, Sept. 22.

Formation
of a trium-
virate by C.
Octavianus,
M. Antony,
and Lepi-
dus.

41. Secret negotiations of Octavianus, who forsakes the party of the senate, with Antony and Lepidus; the consequence of which is a meeting of the parties at Bologna, and the formation of a new triumvirate. They declare themselves the chiefs of the republic for five years, under the title of *triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ*; and dividing the provinces among themselves according to their own pleasure, they make the destruction of the republican party their principal object. A new proscription in Rome itself, and a declaration of war against the murderers of Cæsar, were the means by which they proposed to effect it.

The agreement of the triumvirate concluded Nov. 27, 43, after which the march of the triumvirs upon Rome gives the signal for the massacre of the proscribed, which soon extends all

over Italy, and in which Cicero perishes, Dec. 7. The cause of this new proscription was not party hatred alone, but was as much, perhaps more, owing to the want of money for carrying on the war they had undertaken, and to satisfy the claims of the legions. Where is to be found a time so full of terror as this, when even tears were forbade?

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42. The civil war, now on the eve of breaking out, became, then, a war between the oligarchy and the defenders of the republic. The Roman world was, as it were, divided between the two; and although the former had possession of Italy, and the western provinces, that advantage seemed counterbalanced to the chiefs of the opposite party by the possession of the eastern countries, and the naval power of C. Pompey, which seemed to assure them the dominion of the sea.

Civil war
between the
oligarchy
and republicans.

M. Brutus had taken possession of his province of Macedonia as early as the autumn of 44; while Cassius, on the contrary, had to contend with Dolabella (who by the murder of the proconsul Trebonius had got possession of Asia) for that of Syria. Being, however, on that account, declared an enemy by the senate, and shut up in Laodicea by Cassius, he put an end to his own troubles, June 5, 43. From this time Brutus and Cassius were masters of all the eastern provinces, at whose expense they maintained their troops, though not without much oppression. C. Pompey, after the victory of Munda, 45, having secreted himself in Spain, and afterwards become a chief of freebooters, had grown very powerful; till the senate, after Caesar's assassination, having made him master of the sea-forces, he with them took possession of Spain, and, after the conclusion of the triumvirate, of Sicily, and then, very quickly, of Sardinia and Corsica. It was a great thing for the triumvirate, that C. Pompey did not know how to reap half the profit he might have done from his power and good fortune.

43. Macedonia became the theatre of the new civil war, and together with the goodness of their

Its seat in
Macedonia.

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cause, superior talents, and greater power both by land and sea, seemed combined to insure the victory to Brutus and Cassius. But in the decisive days of Philippi, fortune played one of her most capricious tricks, and with the two chiefs fell the last supporters of the republic.

Double battle at Philippi towards the close of the year 42; voluntary death of Cassius after the first, and of Brutus after the second.

PLUTARCHI *Vita Bruti*; from the narratives of eyewitnesses.

Quarrels of
the oligar-
chy among
themselves.

44. The history of the eleven years intervening between the battle of Philippi and that of Actium, is little more than an account of the contest of the oligarchy among themselves. The most subtle was, in the end, victorious; for M. Antony possessed all the sensuality of Cæsar, without his genius: and the inconsiderable Lepidus soon fell a sacrifice to his own vanity and weakness. While Antony went into Asia to arrange the affairs of the eastern provinces, and from thence with Cleopatra to Alexandria, Octavianus returned to Rome. But the famine which then reigned in that city through Pompey's blockade of the seacoast; the misery spread throughout Italy by the wresting of patrimonial lands from the proprietors to distribute among the veterans; and the insatiable covetousness of the latter, rendered his situation as dangerous now as it had been before the war. Besides all this, the hatred of the enraged consort of Antony, who had entered into an alliance with her brother-in-law, the consul L. Antony, brought on, towards the end of the year, a civil war, which

Fulvia
causes a
civil war;

ended with the surrender and burning of the starved Perusia, in which L. Antony had shut himself up. THIRD PERIOD.

The *bellum Perusinum* lasted from the end of the year 41 till April, 40.

45. This war, however, had nearly led to one still greater; for M. Antony, as the enemy of Octavianus, had come to Italy to assist his brother, and with the intention of forming an alliance with C. Pompey against the former. But fortunately for the world, not only was harmony restored between the triumvirs, but on account of the famine which sorely distressed Rome, a peace was also concluded with Pompey, although it lasted for a very short time. B. C. 40.

The principal object of the peace between the triumvirs was a new division of the provinces, by which the city of Scodra in Illyria was fixed upon as the boundary. Antony obtained all the eastern provinces; Octavianus all the western; and Lepidus Africa. Italy remained in common to them all. The marriage of Antony with Octavia, Fulvia being dead, was intended to cement this agreement. In the peace with C. Pompey, concluded at Misenum, he obtained the isles of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the promise of Achaia.

46. Pompey, however, was not long in finding that an alliance between him and the triumvirs could only end in his destruction; and the war which he soon commenced, and which Octavianus could not bring to a close but with the assistance of Agrippa, was of so much the more importance, as it not only decided the fate of Pompey, but by leading to dissensions, and the expulsion of Lepidus, reduced the triumvirate to a duumvirate. Pompey recommences the war;
which causes his destruction,
38; and Lepidus's expulsion,
39.

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After a doubtful engagement at sea, 38, and the formation of a new fleet, Pompey was attacked on all sides at the same time; as Lepidus came from Africa, and Antony sent also some ships. Decisive defeat of Pompey's fleet; who flies to Asia and there perishes.—Lepidus wishing to take possession of Sicily, Octavianus gains over his troops, and obliges him to retire from the triumvirate.

Foreign wars prevented Augustus and Antony from coming to an open rupture.

B. C.
35—33.

Antony offends Rome and

divorces Octavia, 32.

47. The foreign wars in which Octavianus as well as Antony were engaged for the following years, prevented their mutual jealousy for some time from coming to an open rupture. Octavianus, to tame his unruly legions, employed them with some success against the nations of Dalmatia and Pannonia; whilst Antony undertook an expedition against the powerful Parthians and their neighbours. But in offending Rome by his conduct in these wars, he only armed his opponent against himself; and his formal separation from Octavia, loosened the only tie which had hitherto held together the two masters of the world.

After his first stay in Alexandria, 41, Antony returned to Italy, 40, and after making peace with Octavianus, carried his new wife Octavia with him into Greece, where he remained till the year 37. Although his lieutenant Ventidius had fought with success against the Parthians, who had invaded Syria (see p. 298.), Antony determined, nevertheless, to undertake an expedition against them himself, 36. But although in alliance with Artavasdes king of Armenia (whom he soon after accused of treachery), in seeking to effect an entrance into Parthia, by passing through Armenia and Media, a different route from that taken by Crassus, he was very nearly meeting with the same fate, and the expedition completely failed. He then revenged himself upon Artavasdes, who fell into his hands in a fresh expedition which he made, 34, and deprived him of his kingdom. After his triumphal entrance into Alexandria, he made a grant of this as well as other countries to Cleopatra and her children (see above, p. 263). In 33, he intended to renew his expedition

against the Parthians, in alliance with the king of Media; but upon his ordering, at the instigation of Cleopatra, the forsaken Octavia, who had come out to meet him, to return to Athens, Octavianus and Antony reciprocally accused each other before the senate, and war was declared in Rome, though only against Cleopatra.

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48. Greece became again the theatre of war; and although the forces of Antony were most considerable, yet Octavianus had the advantage of having, at least in appearance, the better cause. The naval victory of Actium decided for Octavianus, who could scarcely believe it, till he found that Antony had forsaken his fleet and army, the latter of which surrendered without striking a blow. The capture of Egypt followed, (see above, p. 264.) and that country was reduced into a Roman province; the death of Antony and Cleopatra ended the war, and left Octavianus the absolute master of the republic.

Greece the
seat of war
between
Antony and
Octavianus.

Antony de-
feated at
Actium, 2d.
Sept. 31;

his death,
30,
leaves Oc-
tavianus
without a
rival.

The history of the last days of Antony, principally after his decline, having been written under the rule of his enemies, must be received with that mistrust which all such histories require. It furnishes stuff for the retailers of anecdote. The history of Cleopatra rests partly on the accounts of her physician Olympus, of which Plutarch made use.

FOURTH PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN STATE AS A MONARCHY TILL THE
OVERTHROW OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. B. C. 30.—A. C.
476.

*Geographical outline. View of the Roman empire and
provinces, and other countries connected with it by war
or commerce.*

Boundaries
of the Ro-
man empire.

THE ordinary boundaries of the Roman empire, over which, however, it sometimes passed, were in Europe the two great rivers of the Rhine and Danube; in Asia, the Euphrates and the sandy desert of Syria; in Africa likewise, the sandy regions. It thus included the fairest portions of the earth, surrounding the Mediterranean sea.

European
countries:
Spain.

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES: I. Spain (Hispania). Boundaries: in the west the Pyrenees, in the north, east, and south, the sea. Principal rivers: the Minius (Minho), Durus (Douro), Tagus, Anas (Guadiana), Bætis (Guadalquivir), which flow into the Atlantic; and the Iberus (Ebro), which falls into the Mediterranean. Mountains: besides the Pyrenees, the Idubeda along the Iberus, Orospea (Sierra Morena).

Lusitania.

Division into three provinces. 1. Lusitania: northern boundary the Durus, southern, the Anas. Principal tribes: Lusitani, Turdetani.

Bætica.

Principal town: Augusta Emerita. 2. Bætica: boundaries in the north and west the Anas, in

In the east the mountains Orospe^a. Principal tribes: Turduli, Bastuli. Principal towns: Cor^aba (Cordova), Hispalis (Seville), Gades (Cadiz), and Tarraco^a. 3. Tarraconensis, all the remainder of Tarraconensis. Principal tribes: Callæci, Astures, Can^aabri, Vascones, in the north; Celtiberi, Carpe^ani, Ilergetes, in the interior; Indigetes, Cose^ani, etc. on the Mediterranean. Chief towns: Tarraco (Tarragona), Cartago Nova (Carthage), Letum (Toledo), Ilerda (Lerida); Saguntum and Numantia (Soria) were already destroyed. The Balearic isles, Major (Majorca), and Minor (Minorca), were considered as belonging to Spain.

II. Transalpine Gaul. Boundaries: in the west the Pyrenees; in the east the Rhine, and a line drawn from its source to the little river Varus, together with the river itself; in the north and south the sea. Principal rivers: the Garumna (Garonne), Liger (Loire), Sequana (Seine), and Scaldis (Scheldt), which empty themselves into the ocean; the Rhodanus (Rhône), which is increased by the Arar (Saône), and falls into the Mediterranean; and the Mosella (Moselle) and Mosa (Meuse), which run into the Rhine. Mountains: besides the Alps, the Jura, Vosges (Vosge), and Cebenna (Cevennes). Divided into four provinces. 1. Gallia Narbonensis, or Braccata. Boundaries: in the west the Pyrenees, in the east the Varus, in the north the Cevennian mountains. Principal tribes: Allobroges, Volcæ, Calyces. Principal towns: Narbo (Narbonne), Tolosa (Toulouse), Nemausus (Nîmes), Massilia (Marseilles), Vienna. 2. Gallia

Balearic isles.

Transalpine Gaul:

Gallia Narbonensis.

Gallia Cel-
tica.

Lugdunensis, or Celtica. Boundaries : in the south and west the Liger (Loire), in the north the Sequana, in the east the Arar. Principal tribes : Ædui, Lingones, Parisii, Cenomani, etc. all of Celtic origin. Principal towns : Lugdunum (Lyons), Lutetia Parisiorum (Paris), Alesia (Alise).

Gallia A-
quitana.

3. Gallia Aquitana. Boundaries : the Pyrenees in the south, the Liger in the north and east. Principal tribes : Aquitani (of Iberian origin), Pictones, Averni, etc. of Celtic descent. Principal towns : Clumberis, Burdegala (Bordeaux).

Gallia
Belgica.

4. Gallia Belgica. Boundaries : in the north and east the Rhine, in the west the Arar, in the south the Rhodanus as far as Lugdunum, so that it comprised at first the countries bordering on the Rhine and Helvetia. The latter, however, were afterwards separated from it under the names of Germania Inferior and Superior. Principal tribes : Nervii, Bellovaci, etc. in the north, of Belgic origin ; Treviri, Ubii, of German origin ; Sequani, Helvetii, in the interior, of Celtic origin. Principal towns : Vesentio (Besançon), Verodunum (Verdun), etc. Along the Rhine in Germania Inferior : Colonia Agrippina (Cologne). In Germania Superior : Mogontiacum (Maynz, or Mentz), and Argentoratum (Strasburg).

Cisalpine
Gaul.

III. Gallia Cisalpina, or Togata (Lombardy, see above, p. 311). But as from the time of Cæsar the inhabitants enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens, it may be reckoned as forming part of Italy.

Sicily.

IV. Sicilia ; divided into Syracuse and Lilybæum.

V. Sardinia and Corsica, see above, p. 316.

Sardinia,
Corsica.
British
islands.

VI. The *Insulæ Britannicæ* (British islands); but of these, only England and the southern part of Scotland were reduced into a Roman province in the time of Nero, under the name of *Britannia Romana*. Principal rivers: *Tamesis* (Thames) and *Sabrina* (Severn). Cities: *Eboracum* (York) in the north, *Londinum* (London) in the south. Into Scotland, *Britannia Barbaria*, or *Caledonia*, the Romans often penetrated, but without being able completely to conquer it; and as for *Hibernia*, *Ierne* (Ireland), it was visited by Roman merchants, but never by Roman legions.

VII. The countries south of the Danube, which were subdued under Augustus and formed into the following provinces: 1. *Vindelicia*. Countries south of the Danube: *Vindelicia*. Boundaries: in the north the Danube, in the east the *Ænus* (Inn), in the west *Helvetia*, in the south *Rhætia*. Principal tribes: *Vindelici*, *Brigantii*, etc. Principal towns: *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg), *Brigantia* (Bregenz). 2. *Rhætia*. Boundaries: in the north *Vindelicia*, in the east the Inn and the *Salza*, in the south the chains of the Alps from *Lacus Verbanus* (Lago Maggiore) to *Belinzona*, in the west *Helvetia*. Principal tribe: *Rhæti*. Principal towns: *Curia* (Chur), *Veldidena* (Wilden), *Tridentum* (Trent). 3. *Noricum*. Boundaries: in the north the Danube, in the west the *Ænus*, in the east the mountain *Cetius* (Kahlenberg), and in the south the Julian Alps and the *Savus* (Save). Principal tribes: *Boii*. Cities: *Jovavum* (Salzburg), *Bojodurum* (Passau). 4. *Pannonia Superior*. *Pannonia Superior*. Boundaries: in the north and east the Danube,

- in the south the Arrabo (Raab), in the west the mountain Cetius. Cities: Vindobona (Vienna), Caruntum. 5. Pannonia Inferior. Boundaries: in the north the Arrabo, in the east the Danube, in the south the Savus. Cities: Taurunum (Belgrade), Mursa (Esseg), and Sirmium. 6. Mœsia Superior. Boundaries: in the north the Danube, in the south mount Scardus, or Scodrus, in the west Pannonia, in the east the river Cebus (Isker). Cities: Singidunum (Semlin), and Naissus (Nissa). 7. Mœsia Inferior. Boundaries: in the north the Danube, in the west the Cebus, in the south mount Hæmus (the Balkan), and in the east the Pontus Euxinus. Cities: Odessus (Varna), Tomi (Tomisvar).
- Illyricum. VIII. Illyricum, in its most extensive signification, comprised all the provinces south of the Danube, together with Rhætia and Dalmatia: but Illyricum Proper comprehends only the lands along the coast of the Adriatic, from Rhætia in Italy to the river Drinus, and easterly to the Savus. Principal towns: Salona, Epidaurus (near the present Ragusa), Scodra (Scutari).
- Macedonia. IX. Macedonia. Boundaries: in the north mount Scodrus, in the south the Cambunian mountains, in the west the Adriatic, and in the east the Ægean sea. Rivers: the Nestus, Strymon, and Halyacmon, which fall into the Ægean sea, and the Apsus and Aöus, which fall into the Adriatic. Principal tribes: Pæones in the north, Pieres and Mygdones in the south. Principal towns: Pydna, Pella, Thessalonica, Philippi, with other Greek colonies (see above, p. 162). Dyrrachium and Apollonia on the western coast.

X. Thrace had for some time kings of her own, Thrace. though dependant on Rome, and was first reduced to a Roman province under Claudius. Boundaries: in the north mount Hæmus, in the west the Nestus, in the south and east the sea. River: Hebrus. Principal tribes: Triballi, Bessi, and Odrysæ. Cities: Byzantium, Apollonia, Berœa.

XI. Achaia (the Greek states), see above, Achaia. p. 127.

XII. To the north of the Danube the province Dacia. of Dacia was brought under the Roman empire by Trajan. Boundaries: in the south the Danube, in the west the Tibiscus (Theiss), in the east the Hierasus (Pruth), in the north the Carpathian mountains. Principal tribe: Daci. Chief cities: Ulpia Trajana and Tibiscum.

ASIATIC PROVINCES: I. Asia Minor contained Asiatic provinces. the provinces: 1. Asia (see above, p. 289). Asia Minor. 2. Bithynia, together with Paphlagonia and part of Pontus. 3. Cilicia, with Pisidia (see above, p. 18). II. Syria and Phœnicia. III. The isle Syria. of Cyprus. Several other states, likewise de- Isle of Cyprus. pendant, still preserved their kings: as, Judæa (becomes a Roman province, A. D. 44.), Com-magene (province A. D. 70, and, together with Judæa, added to Syria), Cappadocia (province A. D. 17), Pontus (completely a province under Nero). Free states at this time: Rhodes, Samos Free states. (provinces A. D. 70), and Lycia (province A. D. 43). Beyond the Euphrates, Armenia and Mesopotamia were reduced to provinces by Trajan, but, as early as the time of Adrian, were abandoned.

African
provinces.
Egypt.
Cyrenaica.
Africa.
Mauritania.

AFRICAN PROVINCES. I. Egypt. II. Cyrenaica, with the isle of Crete. III. Africa, Numidia (see above, p. 47). Mauritania still had its separate king, but he was set aside, A. D. 41, and the country divided into two provinces: 1. Mauritania Cæsariensis. Boundaries: in the east the river Ampsaga, in the west the Mulucha. Principal places: Igilgilis and Cæsaria. 2. Mauritania Tingitana, from the river Mulucha to the Atlantic ocean. Capital: Tingis.

States on
the borders.
Germany.

Principal states on the borders of the empire: I. Germania. Boundaries: in the south the Danube, in the north the sea, in the west the Rhine, in the east undetermined, though the Vistula is generally regarded as such. Principal rivers: the Danubius, Rhenus (Rhine), Albis (Elbe), Visurgis (Weser), Viadrus (Oder), and the Vistula; the Lupias (Lippe) and Amisia (Ems) are likewise frequently mentioned. Mountains and forests: the Hercynian forest, a general name for the forest mountains, particularly of eastern Germany. Melibocus (the Hartz), Sudetus (the Thuringian forest); the forest of Teutoburg, on the south of Westphalia, etc. It would be useless to seek for a general political division, or for the cities, of ancient Germany; we can only point out the situation of the principal tribes. It is necessary, however, to precede this by two observations: 1. The same territory, in the tide of forcible emigration and conquest, often changed its inhabitants. 2. The names of some of the principal tribes often became that of a confederacy. The principal tribes in the period of Augustus were, in northern Germany: the Batavi

in Holland; the Frisii in Friesland; the Bructeri in Westphalia; the lesser and larger Chauci in Oldenburg and Bremen; the Cherusci, likewise the name of a confederation, in Brunswick; the Catti in Hesse. In southern (central) Germany: the Hermunduri in Franconia; the Marcomanni in Bohemia. The Alemanni, not the name of a Alemanni. single tribe, but of a confederation, are first mentioned in the third century: in the period of Augustus these tribes, and the principal of those of eastern Germany, which gradually became known, were included under the general name of Suevi.

Suevi.

The northernmost countries of Europe were considered as isles of the German ocean, and therefore regarded as belonging to Germany. They were Scandinavia, or Scandia (southern Scandi- Sweden), Nerigon (Norway), and Eningia, or navia. probably Finningia (Finland). The northernmost island was called Thule.

The north of Europe, from the Vistula to the Tanais (Don), was comprised under the general name of Sarmatia; but beyond the territory Sarmatia. about the Danube, and especially Dacia (see above, p. 403), they were only in a slight degree acquainted with the coast of the Baltic, by the amber trade.

In Asia the Roman empire was bounded by Great Armenia (see above, p. 19, and 294), the Parthian empire from the Euphrates to the Indus Parthia. (see above, p. 19—22), and the peninsula of Arabia (see above, p. 19).

Eastern Asia, or India, became known to the India. Romans by a commercial intercourse carried

on between them, and which began soon after the conquest of Egypt. It was divided into India on this side the Ganges, that is: 1. The territory between the Indus and Ganges; 2. The peninsula on this side, the western coast of which in particular (Malabar), was very well known; and, 3. The island Taprobana (Ceylon), and India beyond the Ganges, to which also the distant Serica belonged: but of all these countries they had but a very imperfect knowledge.

Africa.

The boundaries of Africa were Æthiopia above Egypt, and Gætulia and the great sandy desert of Libya, above the other provinces.

FIRST SECTION.

*From Augustus Cæsar to the death of Commodus,
B. C. 30. A. C. 193.*

FOURTH
PERIOD.

SOURCES. For the whole of this period DION CASSIUS, lib. li—lxxx, is the historian; though of his last twenty books we have only the abridgments of Xiphilinus. For the history of the emperors from Tiberius to the beginning of Vespasian, the great historian is TACITUS, in his *Annals*, A. C. 14—63; (of which, however, a part of the history of Tiberius, 32—34, all of Caligula and the first six years of Claudius, 37—47, as well as the last year and a half of Nero, are unfortunately lost); and in his *History*, whereof scarcely the first three years, 69—71, are come down to us. SUTTONIUS'S *Lives of the Cæsars*, down to Domitian, is so much the more valuable, because in a state like the Roman it becomes of importance to know the character and domestic life of the rulers. For the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius the *History* of Velleius Paterculus is not of less consequence, although written in a court-like

tone. The sources for the history of the separate Cæsars will be given as we come to them.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

The following are the labours of modern writers :

Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes qui ont régné dans les six premiers siècles de l'Eglise, par M. LENAÏN DE TILLEMONT. à Bruxelles, 1707, 5 vols. 8vo. (An earlier edition in 4to. 1700, 4 vols.) The work of Tillemont has some worth as a laborious compilation, but is superseded in its execution by the following :

Histoire des Empereurs Romains, depuis Auguste jusqu'à Constantin, par M. CREVIER. Paris, 1749, 12 vols. 8vo. [Translated into English.] A continuation of Rollin's Roman History (see above, p. 318), quite in the spirit of that writer, and by his scholar.

DR. GOLDSMITH'S *Roman History, from the foundation of the city of Rome to the destruction of the western empire*. London, 1774, 2 vols. 8vo. Rather a sketch than a detailed history (see above, p. 318).

† *History of Rome under the emperors, and of the contemporary nations*, by M. D. G. H. HUBLER. Fryburg, 1803, 3 parts. Continuation of the work cited p. 2: it reaches down to Constantine.

1. Octavianus Cæsar, on whom the senate conferred the honourable title of Augustus, which they periodically renewed, and which descended to his successors, possessed the sole dominion of the empire during forty-four years. The government, notwithstanding the great revolutions by which the republic had been converted into a monarchy, was not yet, either in fact or in form, altogether a despotic one. The private interest of the ruler required that the republican form should be preserved to the utmost, as without that he could not make an entire change; and the rest of his history sufficiently shows, that the cruelty with which he

Augustus
Cæsar,
B. C. 30—
A. C. 14.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

may be reproached in the early part of his career, was rather owing to circumstances than to his natural disposition. But during a reign so long, so tranquil, and so fortunate, could it be otherwise than that the republican spirit which at the beginning existed only in a few individuals, should evaporate of itself!

The forms under which Augustus held the different branches of supreme power (dictatorship excepted) were:—the consulate, which, till B. C. 21, was annually renewed; and the *potestas consularis*, which, in B. C. 19, was settled on him for ever;—the *tribunicia potestas* (tribunary power), which was, 30, granted him for ever, rendered his person sacred (*sacrosancta*), and prepared the way to the *judicia majestatis* (accusations of high treason). As *imperator*, 31, he continued commander of all the forces, and obtained the *imperium proconsulare* (proconsular power) in all the provinces. He assumed the *magistratura morum* (censorship), 19; and became *pontifex maximus* (high priest), 13. To avoid all appearances of usurpation, Augustus accepted at first the sovereign power for only ten years, and afterwards got it renewed from time to time, for ten or five years, which, at a later period, gave rise to the *sacra decennalia*.

The senate.

2. The senate, indeed, remained a permanent council of state, and Augustus himself endeavoured to increase its authority by more than one purification (*lectio*); but the connexion between him and that assembly seemed of a very fragile nature, as it was undetermined, and could not at this time be settled, whether Augustus was over the senate, or the senate over Augustus. All matters of state could not be brought before the senate, as even the most important often required secrecy. It naturally followed, that a prince, as yet without a court, and who had no proper minister, but only his friends and freedmen, should consult with those whom he thought most

worthy his confidence, a Mæcenas, an Agrippa, etc. Hence afterwards became formed the secret council of state (*consilium secretum principis*). Among the republican magistrates the highest lost most; and as so much now depended upon the preservation of peace in the capital, the offices of prefect of the city (*præfectus urbi*) and prefect of provisions (*præfectus annonæ*) were not only made permanent, but became, especially the former, the principal offices in the state.

The spirit of monarchy shows itself in nothing more than in its strict distinction of ranks; hence, therefore, the magistrates, especially the consuls, lost nothing. Hence also the long-continued custom of nominating under-consuls (*consules suffecti*), which in time became merely a formal assumption of the *ornamenta consularia et triumphalia* (consular and triumphal ornaments). Other offices were made for the purpose of rewarding friends and dependants.

3. The introduction of standing armies, already long prepared, naturally followed a dominion acquired by war; and became, indeed, necessary to guard the frontiers and preserve the newly-made conquests; the establishment of the guards and militia of the city (*cohortes prætorianæ* and *cohortes urbanæ*) were measures equally necessary for the security of the capital and the throne. The creation of two pretorian prefects diminished for the present the great importance of these offices.

Distribution of the legions over the provinces in *castra stativa* (fixed camps), which soon grew into cities, especially along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates (*legiones Germanicæ, Illyricæ, et Syriacæ*). Fleets also were stationed at Misenum and Ravenna.

4. The government, as well as the administra-

FOURTH
PERIOD.

The provinces divided between the emperor and the senate.

tion and revenue of the provinces, Augustus willingly divided with the senate; keeping to himself those on the frontiers (*provinciae principis*), in which the legions were quartered, and leaving to that assembly the others (*provincia senatus*). Hence his deputies (*legati*, lieutenants) exercised both civil and military authority in his name; while those of the senate, on the contrary (*proconsules*), only administered in civil affairs. Both were, in general, attended by commissioners (*procuratores et quaestores*). The provinces were unquestionably gainers by this new arrangement, not only because their governors were more carefully looked after, but because they were paid by the state.

The fate of the provinces naturally rested, in a great degree, upon the disposition of the emperor and governor; but there was also an essential difference between the provinces of the emperor and those of the senate (*provinciae principis et senatus*): in the latter there was no military oppression as there was in the former; and to that may be ascribed the flourishing state of Gaul, Spain, Africa, etc.

Finances:

5. There is little doubt but that the finances of the treasury remained, upon the whole, much the same as before; but in its internal administration Augustus made many alterations, of which we have but a very imperfect knowledge. The difference between the privy and military chest of the emperor (*fiscus*), which he disposed of immediately, and the state chest (*ararium*) which he disposed of mediately through the senate, may almost at once be seen; as well as the natural consequences which followed with the increasing despotism; namely, that the latter would always be swallowed up by the former.

the private and military chest of the emperor; the state chest

swallowed up by the former.

The great disorder into which the treasury had been thrown during the civil wars, and especially by giving away the state lands in Italy to the soldiers, together with the heavy sums required for the maintenance of the standing army now established, must have rendered it much more difficult for Augustus to accomplish the reform he so happily executed; and in which it seems to have been his chief aim to place everything, as far as possible, upon a solid and lasting foundation. The principal changes which he made in the old system of taxation seem to have been: 1. That the tithes hitherto collected in the provinces should be changed into a fixed quantum, to be paid by each individual. 2. The customs, partly by reestablishing former ones, and partly by imposing new ones as well as an excise (*centesima rerum venalium*), were rendered more productive. The possession of Egypt, whither flowed nearly all the commerce of the east, rendered the customs at this time of great importance to Rome. 3. All the state lands in the provinces were, by degrees, changed into crown lands.—Of the new taxes the most considerable were the *vigesima hereditatum* (the twentieth of inheritances), though with important restrictions; and the fines upon celibacy by the *lex Julia Poppæa*.—The greater part of these state revenues most likely flowed, from the first, into the *fiscus*: that is, the whole revenues of the *provincia principis*, as well as that part of the *provincia senatus* appropriated to the maintenance of the troops; the revenues arising from the crown domains; the *vigesima*, etc. To the *ærarium* (now under three *præfecti ærarii*) remained a part of the revenues of the *provincia senatus*, the customs and the fines. Thus it appears that Augustus was master of the finances, of the legions, and thereby of the empire.

The writings of HEGEWISCH and BOSSE (see above, p. 357).

6. The extension of the Roman empire under Augustus was very considerable; being generally of such a nature as conduced to the security of the interior, and to the safeguard of the frontiers. The complete subjugation of northern Spain, and western Gaul, secured the frontiers on that side; as did the threatened but never-executed expedition against the Parthians, and 20.

Extension
of the em-
pire:

Spain and
Gaul, 25.

FOURTH
PERIOD.Countries
south of the
Danube,
15—35.

29.

24.

Their
attempts
to subdue
Germany
fail.

the one actually undertaken against Armenia, A. C. 2. But the most important conquest in this quarter was that of the countries south of the Danube, viz. Rhætia, Vindelicia, and Norica, as well as Pannonia, and afterwards Mœsia. To counterbalance these, the expedition against Arabia Felix completely failed; and that against Æthiopia was of no farther consequence than to strengthen the frontiers.

7. All these conquests together, however, did not cost the Romans so much as their attempt, which in the end entirely failed, to subjugate Germany; first, by the sons-in-law of Augustus, Drusus and Tiberius Nero, and afterwards by the son of the former, Drusus Germanicus. Whether or not this undertaking was a political fault, must always remain a problem, as it is now impossible to say how far the security of the frontiers could be preserved without it.

Rome commenced her hostile attacks against Germany under the command of Drusus, B. C. 12; Lower Germany (Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and Hesse) being in general the theatre of the war; while the Lower Rhine was attacked both by sea and land at the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, on account of the great assistance afforded the Romans by their alliance with the nations on the coasts, the Batavi, Frisii, and Chauci. The intrepid Drusus, in his second expedition, 10, penetrated as far as the Weser; and, 9, even as far as the Elbe, but met with his death at his return. His successors in the command (Tiberius, 9—7, Domitius, Ænobarbus, 7—2, M. Vinicius, 2—A. C. 2, then again Tiberius, A. C. 2—4, who was followed by Quintilius Varus, A. C. 5—9,) endeavoured to build on the foundation laid by Drusus, and, by erecting forts and introducing the Roman language and laws, gradually to reduce into a province the part of Germany they had already subdued; but the carefully-organized revolt of the young Arminius, a prince of the Cherusci, son of Siegmar, and son-in-law of Segestes, friends of the

mans, and the defeat of Varus and his army in the Teuto-
 burg wald, or forest, near Paderborn, A. C. 9, rescued Germany
 from slavery, and its language from annihilation. It moreover
 taught the conquerors (what they never forgot) that the legions
 were not invincible. Augustus immediately despatched Tiberius,
 who had just quelled a furious insurrection in Pannonia, together
 with Germanicus, to the Rhine; but these confined themselves to
 a few incursions, till Germanicus, A. C. 14—16, again carried
 his arms deeper into the country, and certainly penetrated as far
 as the Weser. Yet, notwithstanding his victory near Idistavium
 (modern Idstedt), the loss of his fleet and part of his army by a tempest
 on his return, and the jealousy of Tiberius at his victory, obliged
 him to give up his command. From this time the Germans
 were left at rest in this quarter.

FOURTH
 PERIOD.

MANNERT, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, part iii.

8. The long, and, for Italy itself, peaceable
 reign of Augustus, has generally been considered
 the most fortunate and brilliant period of Roman history;
 and, when compared with the times which pre-
 ceded and followed it, certainly was so. Secu-
 rity of person and property were reestablished;
 the arts of peace flourished under the benign
 patronage of Augustus and his favourite Mæcenas;
 and we may add, that, as the formal restoration of
 the republic would only have been the signal for
 new commotions, the government of Augustus, if
 at the very best, was, at least, the best that
 Rome could then bear. Should it be said his
 private life was not blameless, it may be replied,
 that he inflexibly maintained an outward decency,
 in which, indeed, he sacrificed his only daughter;
 and if laws would have bettered the public morals,
 there was no lack of decrees for that purpose.

Reign of
 Augustus, a
 brilliant
 period for
 Rome.

Among his most important laws to this end are, the *lex Julia*
adulteriis and the *lex Papia Poppæa* against celibacy. The
 latter excited many murmurs.

- FOURTH PERIOD.
- Augustus's family.
Livia.
9. Nearly all that remains of the history of Augustus, is an account of his domestic troubles; the most unhappy family being that of the emperor. The influence of Livia, his second wife, was very great, but seems, nevertheless, to have been no farther abused than to raise to the throne her sons Tiberius and Drusus. The naturally unsettled state of the succession, in a government such as that of Rome now was, became much increased by circumstances. After the untimely death of his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus, whom he had adopted, his widow Julia, the only-begotten child of Augustus by his wife Scribonia, was married to Agrippa. From the issue of this union, the two eldest sons, C. and L. Cæsar, were adopted, upon the death of their father, by
- B. C. 23.
- Julia married to Agrippa, 17.
- 12.
- 6—A. C. 9.
- 2.
- A. C. 2—4.
- Tiberius adopted by Augustus, A. C. 4.
- the emperor, who showed so much fondness towards them as they grew up, that Tiberius, who in the mean time had married their mother, Julia,—but whom Augustus had been obliged to banish from Rome for her licentious conduct,—discontented thereat, left the court. The death of the two young princes, however, again revived the hopes of Tiberius, who was adopted by Augustus upon the condition that he should also adopt Drusus Germanicus, the son of his deceased brother Drusus; after which Augustus, with the consent of the senate, formally associated him with himself in the government, making him an equal partner in the imperial privileges: called by his successors, *lex regia*.

Marmor Ancyranum; or, inscriptions in the temple of Augustus at Ancyra. A copy of the account given of his government, which Augustus, as a public memorial, left at last to Rome: un-

fortunately much mutilated. It is to be found in CHISHULL, *Antiq. Asiatic.*

FOURTH
PERIOD.

Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, by THOMAS BLACKWELL. London, 1760, 3 vols. 4to. divided into fifteen books. The last vol. was published after the death of the author, by MR. MILLS. The last two books of this prolix work contain a description of the contemporary affairs of Augustus; the others go back to earlier times. A just appreciation of Augustus requires a previous critical examination of the sources, whence Suetonius has drawn the materials for his biography.

Histoire des triumvirats augmentée de l'histoire d'Auguste, par LARRY. TREVoux, 1741, 4 parts, 8vo. The last part of this simple narrative contains the history of Augustus from the death of Catiline.

10. The reign of Tiberius Claudius Nero, or, as he was called after his adoption, Augustus Tiberius Cæsar, from his fifty-sixth to his seventy-eighth year, changed rather the spirit than the form of the Roman constitution. He succeeded quietly to the vacant throne at Rome, although the legions in Pannonia, and still more in Germany, felt that they could make emperors. Under him the *comitia*, or assemblies of the people, were reduced to a mere shadow; as he transferred their duties to the senate, which also became the highest tribunal for the state crimes of its own members: this assembly, however, had now been so much accustomed to obey the will of the prince, that everything depended on his personal character. Tiberius founded his despotism upon the *judicia majestatis*, or accusations of high treason, now become an engine of terror, the senate sharing his guilt by a pusillanimity and servility which knew no bounds. It became, indeed, directly it ceased to be the ruling authority of a free state, the tame and ready instrument of the most brutal

August 14,
A. C. 19—
March 16,
37.

Changes
in the con-
stitution:

power of
the *comitia*
reduced;

despotism
introduced
by the *ju-
dicia majes-
tatis*;
degraded
character of
the senate.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

tyranny. Notwithstanding the military talents and many good qualities of Tiberius, his despotic character had been formed long before his fifty-sixth year, when he mounted the throne; although exterior circumstances prevented him from entirely throwing off the mask which he had hitherto always worn.

The foundation of the *judicia majestatis*, which soon became so terrible by the unfixed state of crime, had been laid during the reign of Augustus by the *lex Julia de majestate*, and the *cognitores extraordinariæ*, or commissioners appointed to take cognizance of certain crimes; it was, however, the abuse of them by Tiberius and his successors, which rendered them so dreadful.

Ruin of
Germanicus
and his
family.

12. The principal object of Tiberius's suspicion, and therefore of his hate, was Germanicus, a man almost adored by the army and the people. This brave general he soon recalled from Germany, and sent into Syria to quell the disorders of the east. After having successfully put an end to the commotions which called him there, he was poisoned by the contrivances of Cn. Piso and his wife; and even that did not shelter the numerous family which he left behind, with his widow Agrippina, from persecution and ruin.

A. C. 19.

The expeditions of Germanicus in the east not only gave a king to Armenia, but also reduced Cappadocia and Commagene to Roman provinces, A. C. 17.

Histoire de César Germanicus, par M. L. D. B [RAUFORT] à Leyden, 1741. An unpretending chronological narrative.

L. Ælius
Sejanus,
the cruel
minister of
Tiberius;
23—31.

13. Rome, however, soon dearly experienced herself the powerful ascendancy which L. Ælius Sejanus, the prefect of the pretorian guard, had acquired over the mind of Tiberius, whose unlimited confidence he possessed the more, as he

enjoyed it without a rival. The eight years of his authority were rendered terrible not only by the cantonment of his troops in barracks near the city (*castra prætoriana*), but (having first persuaded Tiberius to quit Rome for ever, that he might more securely play the tyrant in the isle of Capreæ) by his endeavouring to open a way for himself to the throne by villanies and crimes without number, and by his cruel persecution of the family of Germanicus. The despotism he had introduced became still more dreadful by his own fall, in which not only his whole party, but everyone that could be considered as connected with it, became involved. The picture of the atrocious despotism of Tiberius is rendered doubly disgusting by the horrid and unnatural lust which he joined to it in his old age.

Tiberius re-
tires to
Capreæ, 26.

Fall of
Sejanus
attended
with great
carnage, 31.

Tiberius
becomes a
despotic
monster.

Tiberius's misfortune was, that he came too late to the throne. His early virtues made no compensation for his later cruelties. It is those properly which Vel. Paterculus praises, whose flattery of Tiberius, in the midst of whose reign he wrote, is more easily justified than his praise of Sejanus.

14. At the age of twenty-five Caius Cæsar Caligula, the only remaining son of Germanicus, ascended the throne; but the hopes which had been formed of this young prince were soon wofully disappointed. His previous sickness and debaucheries had so distorted his understanding, that his short reign was one tissue of disorder and crime. Yet he did still more harm to the state by his besotted profusion than by his tiger-like cruelty. At length, after a career of nearly four years, he was assassinated by Cassius

Caligula,
March 16,
37—Jan.
24, 41.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

Chærea and Cornelius Sabinus, two officers of his guard.

Claudius,
Jan 24, 21
—Oct. 13,
54.

the weak
tool of his
wives and
freedmen.

Messalina;

Agrippina
procures
the throne
for her son,
with the
assistance
of Burrhus,
and

50.

poisons
Claudius,
54.

15. His uncle Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, who, at the age of fifty, succeeded him, was the first emperor raised to the throne by the guards; which favour he counterbalanced by granting them a *donative*. Too weak to rule of himself, almost imbecile from former neglect, profligate, and cruel from fear, he became the tool of the licentiousness of his wives and freedmen. Coupled with the names of Messalina and Agrippina, we now hear, for the first time in Roman history, of a Pallas and Narcissus. The dominion of Messalina was still more hurtful to the state by her rapacious cupidity, to which everything gave way, than by her dissolute life; and the blow which at last punished her unexampled wantonness, left a still more dangerous woman to supply her place. This was Agrippina, her neice, widow of L. Domitius, who joined to the vices of her predecessor a boundless ambition, unknown to the former. Her chief aim was to procure the succession for Domitius Nero, her son by a former marriage—who had been adopted by Claudius, and married to his daughter Octavia—by setting aside Britannicus, the son of Claudius; and this she hoped to effect, having already gained Burrhus, by making him *sole* prefect of the pretorian guard, by poisoning Claudius. Notwithstanding the contentions with the Germans and Parthians (see above, p. 299) were only on the frontiers, the boundaries of the Roman empire were in many countries extended.

Commencement of the Roman conquests in Britain (whether

audius himself goes) under A. Plautius, from the year A. C. 42. Under the same general, Mauritania, A. C. 42, Lycia, 43, Cædæa, 44 (see above, p. 308), Thrace, 47, were reduced to Roman provinces. He also abolished the prefectures which had hitherto existed in Italy.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

16. Nero Claudius Cæsar, supported by Agrippina and the pretorian guard, succeeded Claudius at the age of seventeen. Brought up in the midst of the blackest crimes, and, by a perverted education, formed rather for a professor of music and the fine arts than for an emperor, he ascended the throne like a youth eager for enjoyment; and throughout his whole reign his cruelty appears subordinate to his fondness for debaucheries and revelry. The unsettled state of the succession first called into action his savage disposition; and the murder of Britannicus having drawn the sword from its scabbard, a long series of others became victims, even the most distant branches of the Julian family. His vanity as a performer and proposer excited in an equal degree his cruelty; and, as, among all tyrants, every execution gives occasion for others, we need not wonder at his sending to death everyone that excelled him. His execution, however, in the early part of his reign, Agrippina, Burrhus, and Seneca, during which he introduced some useful regulations into the treasury, kept him within the bounds of policy. But Poppæa Sabina having driven him to the murder of his mother and his wife Octavia, and Tigellinus being made his confident, he was no longer restrained by the fear of public opinion. The executions of individuals, nearly all of which history has recorded, was not, perhaps,

Nero, Oct.
13, 54,—
June 11,
68.
His educa-
tion and
character.

Destroys
Britannicus
and all the
Julian fam-
ily: his
vanity also
makes him
cruel.

murders his
wife and
mother;

FOURTH
PERIOD.
plunders
the provin-
ces to sup-
port his
profligacy.

upon the whole, the greatest evil; the plunder of the provinces, not only to support his own loose and effeminate pleasures, but also to maintain the people in a continual state of intoxication, had nearly caused the dissolution of the empire. The last years of Nero were marked by a striking and undoubted insanity, which displayed itself in his theatrical performances, and even in the history of his fall. It appears that both around and upon a throne like that of Rome, heroes are formed for vice as well as virtue!

A. C. 68.

The discovery of the conspiracy of Piso, 65, and the revolt of Julius Vindex in Celtic Gaul, 68, were followed by that of Galba in Spain, who was there proclaimed emperor, and with whom Otho, in Lusitania, joined. Nevertheless, after the defeat of Julius Vindex in Upper Germany, by the lieutenant Virginius Rufus, these insurrections seemed quelled, when the pretorian guard, instigated thereto by Nymphidius, broke out into rebellion in Rome itself. Flight and death of Nero, June 11, 68. Foreign wars during his reign: in Britain (occasioned by the revolt of Boadicea), great part of which was subdued and reduced to a Roman province, by Suetonius Paulinus; in Armenia, under the command of the valiant Corbulo, against the Parthians (see above, p. 300); and in Palæstine against the Jews, 66. Great fire in Rome, 64, which gives rise to the first persecution against the Christians.

The principal cause why the despotism of Nero and his predecessors was so tamely submitted to by the nation, may undoubtedly be found in the fact, that the greater part of it was fed by the emperors. To the monthly distributions of corn now were added the extraordinary *congiaria* and *viscerationes* (supplies of wine and meat). The periods of tyranny were very likely the golden days of the people.

Extinction
of the Ju-
lian family
causes
many trou-
bles.

17. By the death of Nero the house of Cæsar became extinct, and this gave rise to so many commotions, that in somewhat less than two years, four emperors by violence obtained possession of

the throne. The right of the senate to name, or at least to confirm, the successors to the throne, was still, indeed, acknowledged; but as the armies had found out that they could create emperors, the power of the senate dwindled into an empty ceremony. Servius Sulpicius Galba, now seventy-two years of age, having been already proclaimed emperor by the legions in Spain, and acknowledged by the senate, gained, without opposition, the possession of Rome: the attempt of Nymphidius having completely failed; and Virginus Rufus voluntarily declining the empire. Galba, however, having given offence both to the pretorian guard and the German legions, was dethroned by the former, incited thereto by his quondam friend Otho, at the time when he thought he had secured his throne by the adoption of the young Licinius Piso, and frustrated the hopes of Otho.

Galba,
June 11, 68
—Jan. 15,
69.

killed by
the preto-
rian guard.

18. M. Otho, aged thirty-seven, was indeed acknowledged emperor by the senate, but wanted the sanction of the German legions, who, proclaiming their general, A. Vitellius, emperor, invaded Italy. Otho marches against him, but after the loss of the battle of Bedriacum kills himself—whether from fear or patriotism, remains uncertain.

Otho, Jan.
69—April
16.

The special sources for the history of Galba and Otho, are their *Lives* by PLUTARCH.

19. Vitellius, in his thirty-seventh year, was acknowledged emperor not only by the senate, but likewise in the provinces; his debaucheries and cruelty, however, together with the licen-

Vitellius,
April 16
Dec. 20,
69.

FOURTH
PERIOD.Vespasian
proclaimed
emperor.

tiousness of his troops, having rendered him odious at Rome, the Syrian legions rebelled, and proclaimed their general, T. Flavius Vespasian, emperor, who, at the solicitation of the powerful Mutianus, governor of Syria, accepted the imperial diadem. The troops on the Danube declaring for him shortly after, and marching into Italy under their general Antonius Primus defeated the army of Vitellius at Cremona. Vitellius was immediately hurled from the throne, though not till after some blood had been spilt by the commotions that took place at Rome, in which Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was slain, and the capitol burnt.

Vespasian,
Dec. 20, 69
—June 24,
79.Fixes the
power of the
senate ;improves
the trea-
sury ;

20. Flavius Vespasian ascended the throne in his fifty-ninth year, and became thereby the founder of a dynasty which gave three emperors to Rome. The state, almost ruined by profusion, civil war, and successive revolutions, found in Vespasian a monarch well suited to its unhappy condition. He endeavoured, as far as he could, to determine the relations between himself and the senate ; as he, by a decree, restored to it all the rights and privileges which had been conferred upon it by his predecessors of the family of Cæsar, and settled and added some others (*lex regia*). He made a thorough reform in the completely-exhausted treasury, which he recruited in part by reducing the countries Nero had made free, together with some others, into provinces ; partly by restoring the ancient customs, by increasing others, and by imposing new ones : without this it would have been impossible for him to have reestablished the discipline of the

army. His liberality in the foundation of public buildings, as well in Rome as in other cities; and the care with which he promoted education, by granting salaries to public teachers, are sufficient to free him from the reproach of avarice; and although he banished the Stoics (who since the time of Nero had become very numerous, and retained nearly all the principles of republicanism) on account of their dangerous opinions, the annulling of the *judicia majestatis* and the restoration of the authority of the senate show how far he was from becoming a despot.

FOURTH PERIOD.
founds public buildings, and promotes education;
banishes the Stoics;
and annuls the *judicia majestatis*.

Rhodes, Samos, Lycia, Achaia, Thrace, Cilicia, and Comma-gene, were brought by Vespasian into the condition of provinces. Foreign wars: part of the Jewish war, which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem, A. C. 70; part of the much greater war against the Batavians and their allies under Civilis, who, during the late civil wars, sought to shake off the Roman yoke, 69; but were reduced to an accommodation by Cerealis, 70. Expeditions of Agricola in Britain, 78—85, who not only subdued all England, and introduced the Roman manners and customs, but also attacked and sailed round Scotland.

D. Vespasianus, sive de vita et legislatione T. Flavii Vespasiani Imp. commentarius, auctore A. G. CRAMER. Jenæ, 1785. An excellent inquiry, with illustrations of the fragments of the *lex regia*. The second part, *de legislatione*, contains a learned commentary upon the *senatus consulta*, during his reign.

21. His eldest son, Titus Flavius Vespasian, Titus, who in the year 70 had been created Cæsar, and June, 27, reigned from his thirty-ninth to his forty-second year, gives us the rare example of a prince becoming better on the throne. His short and benevolent reign was, indeed, only remarkable by its public calamities: an eruption of mount Vesuvius, overwhelming several cities, was followed 79—Sept. 13, 81.

FOURTH
PERIOD.Dreadful
fire and
plague, 79.Domitian,
Sept. 13, 81
—Sept. 18,
96.a complete
and cruel
despot ;unsuccess-
ful in war ;raises the
soldiers'
pay ;employs in-
formers.

by a destructive fire, and a dreadful plague at Rome. His early death secured him the reputation of being, if not the happiest, at least the best of princes.

22. His younger brother and successor, L. Flavius Domitian, who reigned from his thirtieth to his forty-fifth year, gives an example quite opposite to that of Titus: beginning with justness and severity, he soon degenerated into the completest despot that ever swayed the Roman sceptre. His cruelty, joined with a great degree of pride, and nourished by suspicion and jealousy, made him the enemy of all who excelled him by their exploits, their riches, or their talents. The mortifications to which his pride must have been subjected in consequence of his unsuccessful wars against the Catti, and still more unsuccessful against the Daci, increased his bad disposition. His despotism was founded upon his armies, whose pay he augmented one fourth; and that he might not thereby diminish the treasury, as he had too much done at first, he multiplied the *judicia majestatis*, rendering it still more terrible by the employment of secret informers (*delatores*), in order, by confiscations, to augment the wealth of his private treasury (*fiscus*). By confining his cruelty chiefly to the capital, and by a strict superintendence over the governors of provinces, Domitian prevented any such general disorganization of the empire as took place under Nero. His fall confirms the general truth, that tyrants have little to fear from the people, but much from individuals who may think their lives in danger.

The foreign wars during this reign are rendered more worthy of remark by being the first in which the barbarians attacked the empire with success. Domitian's ridiculous expedition against the Catti, 82, gave the first proof of his boundless vanity; as did the recall of the victorious Agricola, 85, from Britain, of his jealousy. His most important war was that against the Daci, or Getæ, who, under their brave king Decebal, had attacked the Roman frontiers; because thereby a war was brought on with their neighbours, the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Jazygi, 86—90, which turned out so unfortunate for Rome, that Domitian was obliged to purchase peace of the Daci by paying them an annual tribute.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

23. The murder of Domitian raised to the throne, in about his seventieth year, M. Cocceius Nerva; and now, at last, seemed to break forth the dawn of a more happy period for the empire. The preceding reign of terror completely ceased at once; and he endeavoured, not only by the diminution of the taxes, but also by the distribution of lands to the poor, to impart fresh vigour to industry. The insurrection of the guards certainly cost the murderers of Domitian their lives; but it was at the same time the cause of Nerva's securing the prosperity of the empire after his death, by the adoption of Trajan.

Nerva,
Jan. 24, 96
—Jan. 27,
98.
his reign
the dawn of
a happy
period.

24. M. Ulpius Trajan (after his adoption, Nerva Trajan), a Spaniard by birth, governed the empire from his forty-second to his sixty-second year. He was the first foreigner who ascended the Roman throne, and at the same time the first of their monarchs who was equally great as a ruler, a general, and a man. After completely abolishing the *judicia majestatis*, he made the restoration of the *free Roman constitution*, so far as it was compatible with a monarchical form, his peculiar care. He gave the elections to the com-

Trajan,
Jan. 24, 98
—Aug. 11,
117.
the best of
the Roman
monarchs.

Restores
the Roman
constitu-
tion;

FOURTH
PERIOD.his frugality
and liber-
ality ;conquers
Dacia,Armenia,
Mesopota-
mia, and
part of
Arabia.

mittees, complete liberty of speech to the senate, and to the magistrates their former authority ; and yet he exercised the art of ruling to a degree and in a detail which few princes have equalled. Frugal in his expenses, he was, nevertheless, splendidly liberal to every useful institution, whether in Rome or the provinces, as well as in the foundation of military roads, public monuments, and schools for the instruction of poor children. By his wars he extended the dominion of Rome beyond its former boundaries ; subduing, in his contests with the Daci, their country, and reducing it to a Roman province ; as he likewise did, in his wars against the Armenians and Parthians, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and part of Arabia. Why was so great a character disfigured by an ambition of conquest ?

The first war against the Daci, in which the shameful tribute was withdrawn and Dercebal reduced to subjection, lasted from 101—103. But as Dercebal again rebelled, the war was renewed in 105, and brought to a close in 106, when Dacia was reduced to a Roman province, and many Roman colonies established therein. The war with the Parthians arose from a dispute respecting the possession of the throne of Armenia (see above, p. 301), 114—116 : but although Rome was victorious she gained no permanent advantage thereby.

The especial source for the history of Trajan is the *Panegyricus* of PLINY THE YOUNGER ; the correspondence, however, of the same writer, while governor of Bithynia, with the emperor, affords us a much deeper insight into the spirit of his government : PLINII *Epist.* lib. x. Who can read it without admiration of the royal statesman ?

RITTERSHUSII *Trajanus in lucem reproductus*. Ambegæ, 1608. A mere collection of the passages of the ancients respecting Trajan.

Res Trajani Imperatoris ad Danubium Gestæ, auctore CONRAD MANNERT. Norimb. 1793 : and

JOH. CHRIST. ENGEL, *Commentatio de Expeditionibus Trajani ad Danubium, et origine Valachorum*. Vindob. 1794.—Both FOURTH PERIOD. learned dissertations, written for the prize offered by the university of Gottingen; the first of which obtained the prize, and the other the *accessit*, i. e. was declared second best.

25. By the contrivances of Plotina, his wife, Adrian. Trajan was succeeded by his cousin and pupil, whom he is said also to have adopted, P. Ælius Adrian, who reigned from his forty-second to his sixty-third year. He was acknowledged at once by the army of Asia, with which he then was, and the sanction of the senate followed immediately after. He differed from his predecessor in that his chief aim was the preservation of peace; on which account he gave up (rare moderation!), directly after his accession, the newly-conquered provinces of Asia, Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, and so put an end to the Parthian war (see above p. 301). He retained, though with some unwillingness, that of Dacia, because otherwise the Roman colonies would have become exposed. He well made up for his pacific disposition, however, in seeking, by a general and vigorous reform in the internal administration, and by restoring the discipline of the army, to give a greater solidity to the empire. For that purpose he visited successively all the provinces of the Roman empire; first the eastern and afterwards the western; making useful regulations and establishing order wherever he came. He improved the Roman jurisprudence by the introduction of the *edicti perpetui*. Passionately fond of and well instructed in literature and the fine arts, he gave them his liberal protec-

FOURTH
PERIOD.

tion, and so called forth another Augustan age. Upon the whole, his reign was certainly a salutary one for the empire; and for any single acts of injustice of which he may be accused, he fully compensated by his choice of a successor. After having first adopted L. Aurelius Verus (then become Ælius Verus), who fell a sacrifice to his debaucheries, he next adopted T. Aurelius Antoninus (afterwards T. Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius), upon condition that he should again adopt M. Aurelius Verus (afterwards M. Aurelius Antoninus), and L. Cesonius Commodus (afterwards L. Verus), the son of Ælius Verus.

During his reign a great revolt broke out in Judæa, under Barcohad, 132—135, occasioned by the introduction of pagan worship into the Roman colony *Capitolina* (the ancient Jerusalem).

The especial source for the history of Adrian, is his *Life* and that of Ælius Verus by ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS in *Script. Hist. Aug. Minores*, already quoted.

Antoninus
Pius, July
10, 138.—
March 7,
161.

26. The reign of Antoninus Pius, from his forty-seventh to his seventieth year, was without doubt the happiest period of the Roman empire. He found everything already in excellent order; and those ministers which Adrian had appointed he continued in their places. His quiet activity furnishes but little matter for history; and yet he was, perhaps, the most noble character that ever sat upon a throne. Although a prince, his life was that of the most blameless individual; while he administered the affairs of the empire as though they were his own. He honoured the senate; and the provinces flourished

under him, not only because he kept a watchful eye over the conduct of the governors, but because he made it a maxim of his government to continue in their places all those whose probity he had sufficiently proved. He observed rigid order in the finances, and yet without sparing where it could be of service in the foundation or improvement of useful institutions; as his erection of many buildings, establishment of public teachers with salaries in all the provinces, and other examples, fully show. He carried on no war; and foreign nations chose him to arbitrate their differences. Some rebellions which broke out in Britain and Egypt, and some frontier wars carried on by the Germans, the Daci, the Moors, and the Alani, were terminated by his lieutenants.

The principal and almost only source for Antoninus Pius, since even Dio Cassius himself is here lost to us, is his *Life* by JULIUS CAPITOLINUS in the *Script. Hist. August.* But this is rather his characteristic than his history. Compare therewith the excellent *Reflections* of MARCUS AURELIUS, i. 16. upon him.

Vie des Empereurs Tite Antonin et Marc Aurele, par M. GAUTIER DE SIBERT. Paris, 1769, 8vo. A laudable attempt at the lives of the two Antonines.

27. He was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the philosopher (aged 40—59 years), who immediately associated with himself, under the title of Augustus, L. Verus (aged 30—40 years, † 169), to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. Notwithstanding the differences of their character, the most cordial union existed between them during the whole of their common reign; L. Verus, indeed, being almost always absent in the

Marcus
Aurelius,
March 7,
161—
March 17,
180.

FOURTH
PERIOD.A. C.
161—166.The north-
ern nations
begin to
press for-
ward.Avidius
Cassius's
rebellion,and death,
175.

wars, took but a very small share in the govern-
ment. The reign of M. Aurelius was marked
by several great calamities: a dreadful pest, a
famine, and almost continual wars. Nothing
short of a prince like Aurelius, who shows the
world the image of wisdom seated on a throne,
could have made endurable so much misery.
Soon after his accession, the Catti made an
irruption upon the Rhine, and the Parthians in
Asia. L. Verus was sent against them. But the
wars on the Danube with the Marcomanni and
their allies in Pannonia, and other northern na-
tions, who now began to press forward with great
force upon Dacia, were of much greater con-
sequence. They occupied M. Aurelius from the
year 167, with but little intermission, to the end
of his reign. He succeeded, indeed, in main-
taining the boundaries of the empire; but then
he was the first who settled any of the barba-
rians within it, or took them into the Roman
service. In the internal administration of affairs
he closely followed the steps of his predecessor,
except that he was rather too much influenced
by his freedmen and family. The only rebellion
which broke out against him, was that of Avidius
Cassius, his lieutenant in Syria, upon a false re-
port of his death; but it was quelled by the de-
struction of that general, as soon as the truth was
made known.

The war against the Parthians (see above, p. 301) was indeed
brought to a successful issue by Verus, the principal cities of the
Parthians falling into the hands of the Romans; Verus left them,
however, to be carried on by his lieutenants, while he rioted
in debaucheries at Antioch. The first war against the Marco-

manni, carried on in the beginning and until the death of Verus, by the two emperors together, was highly dangerous for Rome, as many other nations had joined the Marcomanni, particularly the Quadi, Jazygi, and Vandals, and penetrated as far as Aquila. M. Aurelius ended this war by a glorious peace, 174, as he found it necessary to stop the progress of Cassius's rebellion; in 178, however, the Marcomanni again commenced hostilities, and before their close M. Aurelius died at Sirmium. Contemporary with these wars, yet, as it seems, without any connexion with them, were the attacks of other nations upon Dacia.—The Basternæ, Alani, etc. who poured in from the north, probably pressed forward by the southerly advance of the Goths. *This was the first symptom of the great migration of nations now beginning.*

The especial source for the history of M. Aurelius, are the Biographies of him and L. Verus, as well as that of Avidius Cassius, by VULCATIUS GALLICANUS in *Script. Hist. August.* The letters discovered in Milan, among and together with the writings of FRONTO, are of no historical service.—His principles are best learnt from his *Meditations with himself.*

Æ. LAMPRIIDI *Alexander Severus*, in *Script. Hist. Aug.*

† HEYNE, *de Alexandro Severo Judicium*, Comment. i. ii. in *Opuscula Academica*, vol. vi.

CH. MEINERS *de M. Aurel. Antonini ingenio, moribus, et scriptis*, in *Commentat. Soc. Gotting.* vol. vi.

28. By means of adoption the Roman empire had been blessed, during the last eighty years, with a succession of rulers such as has not often fell to the lot of any kingdom. But in J. Commodus the son of M. Aurelius (probably the offspring of a gladiator), who reigned from his nineteenth to his thirty-first year, there ascended the throne a monster of cruelty, insolence, and lewdness. At the commencement of his reign he bought a peace of the Marcomanni that he might return to Rome. Being himself unable to support the burden of government, the state

T. Commodus, March 17, 180—Dec. 31, 192.

FOURTH
PERIOD.Perennis,
† 186.Cleander,
† 189.A.C.
182—184.

rudder was placed in the hands of the stern and cruel Perennis, prefect of the pretorian guard; but who, being murdered by the discontented soldiers, was succeeded by the freed-man Cleander, who put up all for sale, till he fell a sacrifice to his own insatiable avarice, in a revolt of the people caused by their want of provisions. The extravagant propensity of Commodus for the diversions of the amphitheatres, and the combats of wild beasts and gladiators, wherein he himself, as Hercules, took a part, became a chief cause of his dissipation, and thereby of his cruelty; till at last he was killed at the instigation of his concubine Marcia, Lætus the prefect of the pretorian guard, and Electus. The wars on the frontiers during his reign, in Dacia, and especially in Britain, were successfully carried on by his lieutenants, generals who belonged to the school of his father.

The especial source for the history of Commodus is his private life by ÆL. LAMPRIDIUS, in the *Script. Hist. Aug.*—The history of Herodian begins with his reign.

State of the
empire at
this period.

29. The disasters under M. Aurelius, and the extravagances of Commodus, had injured the empire, but not enfeebled it. Towards the close of the period of the Antonines it still retained its pristine vigour. If wise regulations, internal peace, moderate taxes, a certain degree of political, and unrestrained civil liberty, are sufficient to form the happiness of a commonwealth, it must have been found in the Roman. What a number of advantages did it possess over every other, simply from its situation! Proofs of it appear on every side. A vigorous population, rich provinces, flourishing

and splendid cities, and a lively internal and foreign trade. But the most solid foundation of the happiness of a nation consists in its moral greatness, and this we here seek for in vain. Otherwise the nation would not so easily have suffered itself to be brought under the yoke of Commodus by pretorian cohorts and the legions. But what best shows the strength which the empire still retained, is the opposition it continued to make, for two hundred years longer, to the formidable attacks from without.

D. H. HEGEWISCH *upon the Epochs in Roman History most favourable to Humanity.* Hamburg, 1800—8.

Foreign commerce, so flourishing in this period, could only be carried on, to any extent, with the east—mostly with India—as the Roman empire spread over all the west. This trade continued to be carried on through Egypt, and also through Palmyra and Syria. Information thereupon will be found in

W. ROBERTSON'S *Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India.* London, 1791, 4to. Often reprinted. And particularly upon Egypt, in

W. VINCENT, *the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.* London, 1802, 4to. 2 vols. A very instructive work.

HEEREN, *Commentationes de Græcorum et Romanorum de India, notitia et cum Indis commercii: in Commentat. Soc. Goett.* vol. x. xi.

SECOND SECTION.

From the death of Commodus to Diocletian,
A. C. 193—284.

SOURCES. The Extracts of Xiphilinus from DION CASSIUS, lib. lxxiii—lxxx. though often imperfect, reach down as low as

FOURTH
PERIOD.

the consulate of Dion himself under Alexander Severus, 229.—*HERODIANI Hist. libri viii.* comprise the period from Commodus to Gordian, 180—238.—The *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ Minores* contain the private lives of the emperors down to Diocletian, by JULIUS CAPITOLINUS, FLAVIUS VOPISCUS, etc.—The *Breviaria Historiæ Romanæ* of EUTROPIUS, AURELIUS VICTOR, and S. RUFUS are particularly important for this period.—Finally, the important information that may be derived from the study of medals and coins, not only for this section, but for the whole history of the emperors, may be best learnt by consulting the writers upon those subjects: J. VAILLANT, *Numismata Augustorum et Cæsarum*, cura J. F. BALDINO. Rome, 1743, 3 vols.—*The Medallie History of Imperial Rome*, by W. COOKE. London, 1781, 2 vols.—But above all, the volumes belonging to this period in ECKHEL, *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*.

With the period of the Antonines begins the great work of the British historian:

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by EDWARD GIBBON. Oxford, 1828, 8 vols. 8vo. In worth and extent this work is superior to all others. It embraces the whole period of the middle ages; but only the first part belongs to this period.

Pertinax,
Jan. 1—
March 28,
193.

1. The extinction of the race of the Antonines by the death of Commodus was attended with convulsions similar to those which took place when the house of Cæsar became extinct at the death of Nero. It is true that P. Helvius Pertinax, aged sixty-seven, prefect of the city, was raised to the throne by the murderers of Commodus; and that he was acknowledged, first by the guards, and afterwards by the senate. But the reform which he was obliged to make at the beginning of his reign in the finances, rendered him so odious to the soldiers and courtiers, that a revolt of the first, excited by Lætus, cost him his life before he had reigned quite three months. Thus began to show itself that dreadful military despotism

which forms the ruling character of all this period ; and to none did it become so terrible as to those who wished to make it the main support of their absolute power.

The insolence of the pretorian guard had again risen very high during the reign of Commodus ; but it had never, even in the time of the Antonines, been entirely suppressed. It was only by large donatives that their consent could be purchased, their caprice satisfied, and their good humour maintained ; especially at every new adoption. One of the greatest reproaches to the age of the Antonines is, that those great princes, who seem to have had the means so much in their power, did not free themselves from so annoying a dependance.

JUL. CAPITOLINI *Pertinax Imp. in Script. Hist. Aug.*

2. When, upon the death of Pertinax, the rich M. Didias Julianus, aged fifty-seven, had outbid, to the great scandal of the people, all competitions for the empire, and purchased it of the pretorian guards, an insurrection of the legions, who were in a better state than they to create emperors, very naturally followed. But as the army of Il-
 Didius Julianus.
 lyria proclaimed their general Septimius Severus,
 Septimius Severus,
 the army of Syria Pescennius Niger, and the army
 Pescen-
 of Britain Albinus, nothing less than a series of
 nius Niger,
 Albinus,
 civil wars could decide who would maintain him-
 self on the throne.

ÆL. SPARTIANI *Didius Julianus, in Script. Hist. Aug.*

3. Septimius Severus, aged 49—66, however, was the first who got possession of Rome, and, after the execution of Didius Julianus, he was acknowledged by the senate. He dismissed, it is true, the old pretorian guard, but immediately chose, from his own army, one four times more numerous in its stead. He now, for the time, declared Albinus Cæsar, that he might march his

FOURTH
PERIOD.

Albinus
kills him-
self, Feb.
19, 197.

204.

army against Pescennius Niger, already master of the east, whom, after several contests near the Issus, he defeated and slew. Nevertheless, having first taken and destroyed the strong city of Byzantium, a war with Albinus soon followed, whom the perfidious Severus had already attempted to remove by assassination. After a bloody defeat near Lyons, Albinus kills himself. These civil wars were followed by hostilities against the Parthians, who had taken the part of Pescennius, and which ended with the plundering of their principal cities (see above, p. 300). Severus possessed most of the virtues of a soldier; but the insatiable avarice of his minister Plautianus, the formidable captain of the pretorian guard, robbed the empire even of those advantages which may be enjoyed under a military government, until he was put to death at the instigation of Caracalla. To keep his legions employed, Severus undertook an expedition into Britain, where, after extending the boundaries of the empire, he died at York (*Eboracum*), leaving his son the maxim, "to enrich the soldiers, and hold the rest for nothing."

Agricola had already erected a line of fortresses, probably between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth. These were changed by Adrian into a wall along the present boundaries of Scotland. Severus again extended the frontiers, reestablished the fortresses of Agricola, and afterwards built a wall from sea to sea; his son, however, gave up the conquered country, and the wall became again the boundary of the empire.

ÆL. SPARTIANI *Septimius Severus et Pescennius Niger.*

JUL. CAPITOLINI *Claudius Albinus, in Script. Hist. Aug.*

Caracalla,
Feb. 4, 211
—April 4,
217.

4. The deadly hatred which reigned between the two sons of Severus, M. Aurelius Antoninus

Bassianus Caracalla, aged 23—29, and his young step-brother Geta, aged twenty-one, led to a dreadful catastrophe; for at their return to Rome, and after a fruitless proposition had been made for a division of the empire, Geta was assassinated in the arms of his mother Julia Domna, together with all those who were considered as his friends.

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PERIOD.

Geta murdered,
April 4,
212.

The restless spirit of Caracalla, however, soon drew him from Rome, and in traversing first the provinces along the Danube, and then those of the east, he ruined them all by his exactions and cruelty, to which he was driven for money to pay his soldiers, and to purchase peace of his enemies on the frontiers. The same necessity led him to grant the right of citizenship to all the provinces, that he might thereby gain the duty of the *vicesima hereditatum et manumissionum* (twentieth upon inheritances and enfranchisements), which he very soon changed into *decimus* (a tenth).—With respect to his foreign wars, his first was against the Catti and Alemanni, among whom he remained a long time, sometimes as a friend and sometimes as an enemy. But his principal efforts, after having previously ordered a dreadful massacre of the inhabitants of Alexandria, to satisfy his cruel rapacity, were directed against the Parthians (see above, p. 300); and in his wars against them he was assassinated by Macrinus, the prefect of the pretorian guard.

The prefect, or captain, of the pretorian guard became, from the time of Severus, the most important officer in the state. Besides the command of the guards, the finances were also under his control, together with an extensive criminal jurisdiction. A natural consequence of the continually increasing despotism.

FOURTH PERIOD. *ÆL. SPARTIANI Antoninus Caracalla et Ant. Geta, in Script. Hist. Aug.*

Macrinus,
April 11,
217—June
8, 218.

5. His murderer, M. Opilius Macrinus, aged fifty-three, was recognized as emperor by the soldiers, and forthwith acknowledged by the senate. He immediately created his son, M. Opilius Diadumenus, aged nine years, Cæsar, and gave him the name of Antoninus. He disgracefully terminated the war against the Parthians by purchasing a peace, and changed the *decimus* (tenth) of Caracalla again into the *vicesimus* (twentieth). However, while he yet remained in Asia, Bassianus Heliogabalus, grand-nephew of Julia Domna, and high priest in the temple of the Sun at Emesa, whom his mother gave out for a son of Caracalla, was proclaimed by the legions as Cæsar; and, after a combat with the guards, subsequently to which Macrinus and his son lost their lives, they raised him to the throne.

Mæsa, the sister of Julia Domna, had two daughters, both widows; Soæmis, the eldest, was the mother of Heliogabalus, and Mammæa, the youngest, the mother of Alexander Severus.

JUL. CAPITOLINI Opilius Macrinus, in Script. Hist. Aug.

Heliogaba-
lus,
June 8,
218—
March 11,
222.

6. Heliogabalus, aged 14—18, who assumed the additional name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, brought with him from Syria the superstitions and voluptuousness of that country. He introduced the worship of his god Eliogabal in Rome, and wallowed openly in such beastly and infamous debaucheries, that history can scarcely find a parallel to his dissolute, shameless, and scandalous conduct. How low must the morality of that age have been sunk, in which a boy could so early have become so ripened a monster!

The debasement of the senate, and of all important offices, which he filled with the degraded companions of his lusts and vices, was systematically planned by him; he even deserves no credit for the adoption of his cousin, the virtuous Alexander Severus, since he shortly after endeavoured to take away his life, whereupon he himself was killed by the guards.

† *ÆL. LAMPRIDIJ Ant. Heliogabalus, in Script. Hist. Aug.*

7. His young cousin and successor, M. Aurelius Severus, aged 14—27, who had been carefully educated under the direction of his mother Mammæa, proved one of the best princes in an age and upon a throne where virtues were more dangerous than vices. Under favour of his youth he endeavoured to operate a reform, in which he was supported by the inclination of the guards towards him, who had elevated him to the throne. He raised the consideration of the senate, from among whom he chose, with rigid justice, his privy council of state, banishing the creatures of Heliogabalus from their places. The revolution in the Parthian empire, out of which was now formed a new Persian one, was of so much importance to Rome, that it obliged Alexander to undertake a war against Artaxerxes, in which he was probably victorious. But while marching in haste to protect the frontiers against the advancing Germans upon the Rhine, his soldiers, irritated at the severity of his discipline, and incited by the Thracian, Maximin, murdered him in his own tent. His prefect of the pretorian guard, Ulpian, had formerly been put to death before his own eyes for the same cause.

Alexander
Severus,
March 11,
222—
Aug. 235.

War
against
Persia, 226.

231—233.

235.

222.

FOURTH
PERIOD.

The revolution in Parthia, whereby a new Persian empire was formed (see above, p. 436.), became a source of almost perpetual war to Rome; Artaxerxes I. and his successors, the Sassanides, claiming to be descendants of the ancient kings of Persia, formed pretensions to the possession of all the Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire.

Maximinus,
Aug. 235—
May, 238.

8. The death of A. Severus raised military despotism to the highest pitch, as it placed on the throne the half savage C. Julius Maximinus, by birth a Thracian peasant. He continued, at first, the war against the Germans with great success, repulsing them beyond the Rhine; and resolved, by crossing Pannonia, to carry the war even among the Sarmatians. But his insatiable rapacity, which spared neither the capital nor the provinces, made him hateful to all; and Gordian, proconsul of Africa, in his eightieth year, was, together with his son of the same name, proclaimed Augustus by the people, and immediately acknowledged by the senate. Upon this, Maximinus, eager to come to a sharp reckoning with the senate, marched directly from Sirmium towards Italy. In the mean time, the legions of the almost defenceless Gordians were defeated in Africa, and themselves slain by Capellianus the governor of Numidia. Notwithstanding this, as the senate could expect no mercy, they chose as co-emperors the prefect of the city, Maximus Pupienus, and Clodius Balbinus, who, in conformity with the wishes of the people, created the young Gordian III. Cæsar. In the meanwhile Maximinus, having besieged Aquila, and the enterprise proving unsuccessful, was slain by his own troops.

236.

237.

April, 238.

The Gordians.

Balbinus
and Pupie-
nus.

Pupienus and Balbinus seemed now settled on the throne; but the guards, who had already had a bloody feud with the people, and were not willing to receive an emperor of the senate's choosing, killed them both, and proclaimed as Augustus, Gordian, already created Cæsar.

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JUL. CAPITOLINI *Maximinus, Gordiani tres, Pupienus, et Balbinus, in Script. Hist. August.*

9. The reign of the young M. Antoninus Gordianus lasted from his twelfth to his eighteenth year. He was grandson of the proconsul who had lost his life in Africa, and, in the early part of his reign, acquired a degree of firmness from the counsels of his father-in-law, Misisheus, prefect of the pretorian guard, and by the successful expedition which he undertook into Syria against the Persians. But after the death of Misisheus, Philip the Arabian, being made prefect of the guards in his stead, found means to gain the troops over to himself, and, after driving Gordian from the throne, caused him to be assassinated.

Gordian
III. July,
238—Feb.
244.

Syrian ex-
pedition,
241—243.

10. The reign of M. Julius Philippus was interrupted by several insurrections, especially in Pannonia; until at length Decius, whom he himself had sent thither to quell the rebellion, was compelled by the troops to assume the diadem. Philip was soon after defeated by him near Verona, where he perished, together with his son of the same name. In this reign the secular games, *ludi sæculares*, were celebrated, one thousand years from the foundation of the city.

Philippus,
Feb. 244—
Sept. 249.

11. Under the reign of his successor, Trajanus 247.

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Sept. 249—
Oct. 251.
250.

Decius, aged fifty, the Goths for the first time forced their way into the Roman empire by crossing the Danube; and although Decius at first opposed them with success, he was at last slain by them in Thrace, together with his son, Cl. Herennius Decius, already created Cæsar. Upon this the army proclaimed C. Trebonianus Gallus emperor, who created his son, Volusian, Cæsar; and having called Hostilian, the yet remaining son of Decius, to his assistance, he soon contrived to get rid of him. He purchased a peace of the Goths; but, despised by his generals, he became involved in a war with his victorious lieutenant in Mœsia, and was slain, together with his son, by his own army. In three months, however, Æmilianus shared the same fate; Publius Licinius Valerianus, the friend and avenger of Gallus, advancing against him with the legions stationed in Gaul. Both the people and army hoped to see the empire restored under Valerian, already sixty years of age; but, although his generals defended the frontiers against the Germans and Goths, he himself had the misfortune to be defeated and taken prisoner by the superior forces of the Persians. Upon this event his son and associate in the empire, P. Licinius Gallienus, who knew everything except the art of governing, reigned alone. Under his indolent rule the Roman empire seemed on one hand ready to be split into a number of small states, while on the other it seemed about to fall a prey to the barbarians; for the lieutenants in most of the provinces declared themselves independent of a prince whom they despised, and to which, in-

Gallus.

Æmilianus,
May, 253.

Valerian.

Gallienus,
259—268.

deed, they were driven, like Posthumius in Gaul, for their own security.—There were nineteen of these; but as many of them named their sons Cæsars, this period has been very improperly distinguished by the name of *the thirty tyrants*, although their intolerable oppressions might well justify the latter expression. The Persians at the same time were victorious in the east, and the Germans in the west.

The German nations which were now become so formidable to the Roman empire, were: 1. The great confederation of tribes under the name of *Franks*, who spread over Gaul along the whole extent of the Lower Rhine. 2. The allied nations of the *Alemanni* on the Upper Rhine. 3. The *Goths*, still more formidable than any, who had formed a powerful monarchy upon the banks of the Lower Danube and the northern coasts of the Black sea, which stretched itself from the *Boristhenes* to the *Don*; and who, not only by their land forces, but still more by their maritime, especially after they had captured the peninsula of *Crim Tartary* (*Chersonesus Taurica*), became formidable; and by means of their fleets they not only kept the Grecian, but likewise the Asiatic provinces in continual alarm.

TREBELLII POLLIONIS *Valerianus, Gallieni duo, triginta tyranni*, in *Script. Hist. Aug.*

† Concerning the thirty tyrants under the Roman emperor *Gallicus*, by J. C. F. MANSO; at the end of his *Life of Constantine*.

12. Gallienus losing his life before Milan, in the war against Aurelius an usurper, had nevertheless recommended M. Aurelius Claudius (aged 45—47) for his successor. The new Augustus reestablished in some degree the tottering empire; not only by taking Aurelius prisoner, but also by repulsing the *Alemanni*, and more especially by a decisive victory gained over the *Goths*, who had invaded *Moesia*, near *Nisa*. He died, however, soon after, at *Sirmium*, of a pesti-

Claudius,
March, 268
—Oct. 270.

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lential disease, naming for his successor Aurelian, a hero of his own stamp, who mounted the throne upon the death of Quintillus the late emperor's brother, who had at first proclaimed himself Augustus, but afterwards killed himself.

TREBELLII POLLIONIS *divus Claudius*, in *Script. Hist. Aug.*

Aurelian,
Oct. 270—
March, 275.

271.

Zenobia de-
feated and
made pri-
soner, 271
—273.

274.

275.

13. During the reign of L. Domitius Aurelianus, which lasted almost five years, those countries which were partly or entirely lost to the empire were restored. Having first driven back the Goths and the Alemanni, who had advanced as far as the Umber, he undertook his expedition against the celebrated Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who at that time possessed Syria, Egypt, and part of Asia Minor. These countries he again brought under the dominion of the empire, after having defeated Zenobia and made her prisoner. The western provinces of Gaul, Britain, and Spain, which since the time of Gallienus had been governed by separate rulers, and were now under the dominion of Tetricus, he reduced to their former obedience. Dacia, on the contrary, he willingly abandoned; and as he transported the Roman inhabitants across the Danube into Mœsia, the latter henceforward bore the name of *Dacia Aureliani*. Hated for his severity, which in a warrior so easily degenerates into cruelty, he was assassinated in Illyria at the instigation of his private secretary Mnestheus.

FLAV. VOPISCI *divus Aurelianus*, in *Script. Hist. Aug.*

Palmyra in the Syrian desert, enriched by the Indian trade, was one of the most ancient cities, and became a Roman colony in the time of Trajan. Odenatus, the husband of Zenobia, had here acquired so much celebrity by his victories over the Per-

sians, that Gallienus had even named him Augustus with himself. He was murdered, however, by his cousin Mæonius, 267. Zenobia now took possession of the government for her sons Vabalathus, Herennianus, and Timolaus, without, however, being acknowledged at Rome. After this, in the time of Claudius, she added Egypt to her dominions. Aurelian, having first defeated her near Antioch and Emesa, soon afterwards took Palmyra, which, in consequence of a revolt, he destroyed. Even in its ruins it is still great.

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The Ruins of Palmyra, by R. Wood. London, 1753; and the *Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis*, by the same author, London, 1757, give us clear and certain ideas of the magnificence and magnitude of these cities.

14. An interregnum of six months followed upon the death of Aurelian, till at length the senate, at the repeated solicitations of the army, ventured to fill up the vacant throne. The object of their choice, however, M. Claudius Tacitus, the worthiest of the senators, was unfortunately seventy-five years old, and perished after a short reign of six months, in an expedition against the Goths. Upon this event the army of Syria raised M. Aurelius Probus to the purple; while Florianus the brother of Tacitus, who had already been acknowledged at Rome, was put to death by his own people.

Tacitus,
Sept. 25,
275—
April, 276.

FLAV. VOPISCI *Tacitus; ejusd. Florianus, in Script. Hist. August.*

15. The six years' reign of Probus was a war-like one. He defeated the Germans, and forced them beyond the Rhine and Danube; strengthening the frontiers by building a strong wall from the Danube, near Regensburg, to the Rhine. He also forced the Persians to make peace. Nevertheless, the number of towns which he reestablished and peopled with prisoners of war, and the

Probus,
April, 276
—Aug. 282.

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vineyards which he caused his soldiers to plant on the Rhine, are proofs that he had taste and inclination for the arts of peace. This policy, however, would not suit the legions! After he had perished, therefore, by the hands of his soldiers, they proclaimed the prefect of the pretorian guard, M. Aurelius Carus, emperor, who created his two sons, very unlike each other in disposition, Cæsars, M. Aurelius Carinus being one of the greatest reprobates, while M. Aurelius Numerianus was gentle by nature, and had a mind well formed by study. The new emperor, having defeated the Goths, marched against the Persians, but was soon killed, being, as it is said, struck by a flash of lightning. His son Numerianus was murdered soon after, by his own father-in-law, Arrius Aper, the pretorian prefect.

Carus,
Aug. 282.

Aug. 283.

284.

FLAV. VOPISCI *Probus imper. ejusd. Carus, Numerianus et Carinus, in Script. Hist. Aug.*

Review of
the govern-
ment during
this period.

16. Although this period gives us a finished picture of a complete military despotism, it is still evident that this was owing to the entire separation of the military order from the rest of the people, by the introduction of standing armies, and the extinguishing of all national spirit among the citizens. The legions decided because the people were unarmed. It was, indeed, only among them, situated far from the soft luxuries of the capital, and engaged in almost a continual struggle with the barbarians, that a remnant of the ancient Roman character was still preserved. The nomination of their leaders to the purple became a natural consequence, not only of the uncertainty of the succession, which could not be

fixed by mere ordinances, but often of necessity, from their being in the field under the pressure of urgent circumstances. Thus came to the throne a succession of distinguished generals: what authority, indeed, would an emperor at that time have had who was not a general? All durable reform, however, was rendered quite impossible by the quick succession of rulers. Even the best among them could do but very little for the internal administration; as all their energies were required for the protection of the frontiers, and the subjection of usurpers, who, with the exception of the formality of being acknowledged by the senate, had claims as well founded as their own.

17. The decline of the empire also became so much the more rapid, in proportion as, in these days of terror, luxury had increased not only in the splendour and profligate effeminacy of private life, but more particularly in public, to a pitch almost beyond belief. The latter was especially shown in the exhibitions of the amphitheatre and circus, by which not only every new ruler, but even every new magistrate was obliged to purchase the favour of the people. Thus these remnants of a free constitution served only to hasten general destruction! What enjoyments, indeed, could be found under the rod of despotism, except those of the most gross sensuality; and to satisfy this, the intellectual amusements, not only the theatre (mimes and pantomimes), but also actors and poets were made to contribute.

Yet, during this general decay, the gradual progress and effects of the Christian religion was working a

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Luxury hastens the decline of the empire.

Progress and effects of the

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PERIOD.
Christian
religion.

reform altogether of a different nature. Before the end of this period it had opened itself a way into every province, and, notwithstanding the frequent persecutions, had made converts in every rank of society, and was now on the eve of becoming the prevailing form of worship. We shall be better able to estimate its value, if we consider it as the vehicle by which civilization made its way among the rude nations that now appeared on the scene, than if we merely consider it as the means of improving the manners and morals of the Roman world. In a political view it became of the greatest importance by the hierarchy, the frame-work of which was now in a great measure constructed among its professors. It was afterwards adopted as a state religion; and although the ancient religion of Rome had formerly been the same, yet it was only such for the republic, as it was not at all adapted for the now existing monarchy. The overthrow of paganism was necessarily attended by some violent convulsions, yet its loss was nothing to be compared with the support which the throne afterwards found in the hierarchy.

The dispersion of the Jews, and especially the persecutions which were renewed from time to time, after the reign of Nero (but which only served to kindle enthusiasm), strongly cooperated in the spread of the Christian religion. These persecutions were principally called forth against the Christians by their constitution of themselves into a separate society, and by their general union, which caused them to be regarded as a dangerous sect at Rome, notwithstanding the general toleration granted to every national religion. Although towards the end of this period, only a very small proportion of the inhabitants of the Roman empire professed as yet this belief, it nevertheless had followers in every province.

† *History of the Social Constitution of the Christian Church*, by D. G. J. PLANCK, 4 parts, 1800. It is the first part of this excellent work which relates to this period. FOURTH PERIOD.

THIRD SECTION.

From Diocletian to the overthrow of the Roman empire in the west, A. C. 284—476.

SOURCES. It becomes now of importance to inquire whether the historians were Christians or pagans. ZOSIMUS, the imitator of Polybius, belonged to the first. He describes the fall of the Roman state, as his model does the previous part. Of his *Historics* only five books and a half, to the time of Gratian, 410, have descended to us. He was certainly a violent antagonist of the Christians, yet, nevertheless, the best writer of this period. AMMIANI MARCELLINI *Historiarum*, lib. xiv—xxxi. from the year 353—378 (the first thirteen books are lost). Probably a Christian, but yet no flatterer; and, notwithstanding his tiresome prolixity, highly instructive. Together with the writers of general history already noticed at page 433, we must here especially add to the abbreviators, PAULI OROSII *Hist.* lib. vii. and ZONARÆ *Annales*. The *Panegyrici Veteres*, from Diocletian to Theodosius, can only be used with circumspection.—The writers of church history become also now of great importance in political history. EUSEBIUS, in his *Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. and in his *Vita Constantini Magni*, lib. v. as well as his continuators, SOCRATES, THEODORET, SOZOMENUS, and EVAGRIUS; though all these, from their partiality towards the Christian emperors, should rather be classed with the panegyrists than the historians. Another high source may still be joined to these, the *Constitutions* of the emperors, which have been preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus* and JUSTINIAN, from the time of Constantine the Great.

Besides the works we have quoted at pages 406, 433, the Byzantine historians become here of importance. We shall mention also:

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Histoire du Bas-Empire depuis Constantin, par M. LE BEAU, continuée par M. AMEILHON. Paris, 1824, 20 vols. 8vo. The first seven parts only belong to this period.

† The German translation of GUTHRIE and GRAY's *Universal History*, 5 sections, 1 vol. Leipsic, 1768, is rendered very useful by the labours of Ritter.

Histoire du Bas-Empire, depuis Constantin jusqu' à la prise de Constantinople en 1453, par CARENTIN ROYON. Paris, 1803, 4 vols. 8vo. A useful abridgement, without much research.

Diocletian,
Sept. 17,
284—May
1, 305.

1. The reign of C. Valerius Diocletian, aged 39—60, proclaimed emperor after the murder of Numerianus, by the troops in Chalcedon, begins a new section in Roman history. To the period of military despotism succeeded the period of partitions. After Diocletian had defeated Carinus, the yet remaining Cæsar, in Upper Mœsia, who was there assassinated, he made M. Valerius Maximianus Herculus, a rough warrior who had hitherto been his comrade in arms, the sharer of his throne. Herculus now contended with the Alemanni and Burgundians on the banks of the Rhine, while Diocletian himself made head against the Persians. Nevertheless, the two Augusti soon found themselves unable to withstand the barbarians, who were pressing forward on every side, more especially as Carausius had usurped and maintained the title of Cæsar in Britain. Each of them, therefore, created a Cæsar: Diocletian chose C. Galerius, and Maximianus, Flavius Constantius Chlorus, both of whom had distinguished themselves as generals, at that time the only way of rising. The whole empire was now divided between these four rulers; so that each had certain provinces to

Carinus,
† 285.

Maximian
associated
in the
govern-
ment, 286.

Carausius,
288—293.

Galerius
and Chlorus
created
Cæsars,
292.

govern and defend; without detriment, however, to the unity of the whole, or to the dependance in which a Cæsar stood as the subordinate assistant and future successor of his Augustus.

In the partition, 292, Diocletian possessed the eastern provinces; Galerius, Thrace, and the countries on the Danube (Illyricum); Maximianus, Italy, Africa, and the islands; and Constantius, the western provinces of Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Mauritania.

2. This new system could not but have a striking effect upon the spirit of the government. It was now not only in fact, but also in form, entirely in the hands of the rulers. By their continual absence from Rome they became freed from that moral restraint in which the authority of the senate, and the name of republic, not hitherto altogether laid aside, had held them. Diocletian formally assumed the diadem, and, with the ornaments of the east, introduced its luxuries into his court. Thus was laid the foundation of that structure which Constantine the Great had to complete.

3. The consequences of this new system became also oppressive to the provinces, inasmuch as they had now to maintain four rulers, with their courts, and as many armies. But however loud might be the complaints of the oppression occasioned thereby, it was, perhaps, the only means of deferring the final overthrow of the whole edifice. In fact, they succeeded not only in defeating the usurpers, Allectus in Britain 296. (who had murdered Carausius in 293), Julian in 293—296. Africa, and Achilleus in Egypt; but also in defending the frontiers, which, indeed, by the vic-

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297.

tories of Galerius over the Persians, they extended as far as the Tigris. Did not, however, the gloomy perspective present itself, that among so many rulers, and the undefined relations which existed between the Cæsars and the emperors, the union could not be of long continuance?

Constantius, 305—307.
Galerius, 305—313.

4. Diocletian voluntarily abdicated the throne (although the growing power and encroaching disposition of Galerius might perhaps have had some influence), and obliged his colleague Maximianus to do the same. The two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, were proclaimed Augusti, and altered the division of the empire, so that the former possessed all the western countries, of which, however, he freely ceded Italy and Africa to Galerius, who had all the remaining provinces. The latter, during the same year, created Flavius Severus, Cæsar, and confided to him the government of Italy and Africa; as he did also C. Galerius Maximin, to whom he gave the Asiatic provinces. The administration of the two emperors, however, was very different; Constantius was as much beloved for his mild and disinterested government, as Galerius was hated for his harshness and prodigality. Constantius died very soon after at York, leaving his son Constantine heir to his dominions, who was immediately proclaimed Augustus by the legions, although Galerius would only acknowledge him as Cæsar.

Constantine the Great, July 25, 306—May 22, 337.

5. Thus Constantine, who afterwards obtained the surname of Great, began to rule, aged 33—64, though at first only over Britain, Spain, and Gaul; nevertheless, by seventeen years of violence and warfare, he opened himself a way to

the sole dominion of the empire. The rulers disagreed among themselves; and formidable usurpers started up and rendered war inevitable.

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323.

The history of the first seven years of Constantine, 306—313, is very complex; after that, he had only one rival to struggle with, 314—323. At his accession, Galerius, as Augustus, was in possession of all the other provinces; of which, however, he had given to Cæsar Maximin the government of those of Asia, and to Cæsar Severus, now created Augustus, Italy and Africa. The latter, however, rendering himself hateful by his oppression, Maxentius, the son of the former emperor, Maximianus, assumed the title of Augustus at Rome (Oct. 28, 306), and associated his father with himself in the government; so that at this time there were six rulers: Galerius, Severus, Constantine, Maximin, and the usurpers Maxentius and his father Maximianus. But in the year 307, Severus, wishing to oppose Maxentius, was abandoned by his own troops, upon which he surrendered himself to Maximianus, who caused him to be executed. In his place Galerius created his friend Licinius, Augustus; and Maximin obtained the same dignity from his army in Asia. In the mean time, Maximianus, after having endeavoured to supplant his own son in Rome, fled to Constantine, who had crossed over into Gaul and there defeated the Franks, 306; but having there made an attempt upon the life of Constantine, who had married his daughter Faustina, he caused him to be put to death, 310. As the excesses of Galerius soon after closed his existence, 311, there only remained Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin, and the usurper Maxentius. The latter was soon defeated and slain, 312, before the gates of Rome, by Constantine, who thereby became master of Italy and the capital. A war having broken out about the same time between Maximin and Licinius, Maximin was defeated near Adrianople, and then killed himself, 313. The year 314 brought on a war between the two remaining emperors, Constantine and Licinius, which, however, ended the same year in an accommodation, by which Constantine obtained all the countries on the south bank of the Danube, as well as Thrace and Mœsia Inferior; it broke out again, however, in 322, and was finally terminated by a decisive victory in Bithynia, and the total overthrow of Licinius, whom Constantine put to death 324.

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6. However opposite may be the opinions formed of the reign of Constantine the Great, its consequence is perfectly plain. Although he completely overthrew military despotism, he built upon its ruins, if not completely yet in a great measure, a despotism of the court, and likewise the power of the hierarchy. He had already, during his expedition against Maxentius, decided in favour of the Christian religion; and since he thereby gained a vast number of partisans in all the provinces, and weakened at the same time the power of his co-emperors, or competitors, it was the surest way he could have taken to attain sole dominion, the great object of his ambition. This great change must nevertheless have had a great influence on every part of the government, as he found in the previously-established hierarchy a powerful support of the throne; and since he, in concert with it, settled what was, and what was not the orthodox doctrine, he introduced a spirit of persecution heretofore unknown.

At a period in which religious parties must almost necessarily have become political parties, we can only venture to judge of the importance of the sect by the importance of their points of doctrine. The quarrels of the Arians, which arose at this time, gave Constantine, by the council of Nice, 325, the opportunity he wished for, of making good his authority in religious legislation.

7. The removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople was connected with this change in the form of worship—as a Christian court would have been awkwardly situated in a city still altogether pagan—although the need

there was of protecting the frontiers against the Goths and Persians had a considerable share therein. It did, indeed, become the principal means of establishing the despotism of the court; but those who regard it as one of the causes of the decline of the empire, should remember, that for an empire fallen so low as the Roman was at this time, despotism was almost the only support that remained.

The various partitions of the empire from the time of Diocletian, had led the way to this change of the capital; because a natural result of that system was, that the emperors and Cæsars, when not with the army, as they usually were, would reside in different cities. The seat of Diocletian's government was at Nicomedia; of Maximian's, at Milan; even Constantine himself remained but very little at Rome. In these new cities they felt themselves unfettered; and therefore, although the Roman senate existed till after the time of Constantine, its authority must have fallen of itself from the time of Diocletian.

8. We ought not, therefore, to wonder that the consequence of this removal was so complete a change in the whole form of government, that after a short time it seemed to be altogether a different state. A partition of the empire was made, which, though it might in part have been founded on those which had previously existed, was yet so different, that it not only changed the ancient divisions of the provinces, but completely altered their mode of government.—A court which, with the exception of polygamy, assumed entirely the form of the eastern courts.—A great change in the military system, by the complete separation of the civil and military authority, which the pretorian prefects had hitherto possessed, but who now became merely civil governors.

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After the new division the whole empire was divided into four *prefectures*, each of which had its *dioceses*, and each diocese its *provinces*. The prefectures were: I. The eastern (*prefectura Orientis*); it contained five dioceses; 1. *Orientis*; 2. *Ægypti*; 3. *Asiæ*; 4. *Ponti*; 5. *Thraciæ*; forming altogether forty-eight provinces, and comprising all the countries of Asia, Egypt, together with the frontier countries of Libya and Thrace. II. *Præfectura Illyrici*, containing two dioceses; 1. *Macedonia*; 2. *Daciæ*; forming eleven provinces, and comprising Mæsia, Macedon, Greece, and Crete. III. *Præfectura Italiæ*, containing three dioceses; 1. *Italiæ*; 2. *Illyrici*; 3. *Africæ*; forming twenty-nine provinces, and comprising Italy, the countries on the south of the Danube, as far as the boundaries of Mæsia; the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the African provinces of the Syrtis. IV. *Præfectura Galliarum*, containing three dioceses; 1. *Galliæ*; 2. *Hispaniæ*; 3. *Britanniæ*; forming altogether twenty-eight provinces, and comprising Spain and the Balearian islands, Gaul, Helvetia, and Britain.—Each of these prefectures was under a *præfectus prætorio* (pretorian prefect), but who was merely a civil governor, and had under him *vicarios*, in the dioceses, as well as the *rectores provinciarum*, of various ranks and titles. They were named *proconsules*, *præsides*, etc. Besides these, Rome and Constantinople, not being included in any of the four prefectures, had each its prefect.

Now appeared as first servants of the court (*s. cubiculi*), the *præpositus s. cubiculi* (grand-chamberlain), under whom were all the *comites palatii* and *cubicularii*, in four divisions; these afterwards were frequently eunuchs with great influence; the *magister officiorum* (chancellor, minister of the interior); the *comes sacrarum largitionum* (minister of the finances); the *quæstor* (the organ of the emperors in legislation; minister of justice and secretary of state); the *comes rei principis* (minister of the crown-treasury [privy-purse]); the two *comites domesticorum* (commander of the household guards), each of whom had his corps (*scholas*) under him. The number of the state officers and courtiers was continually increasing. If the good of a commonwealth consisted in forms, rank, and title, the Roman empire must at this time have been truly happy!

At the head of the troops were the *magistri peditum* (master of the infantry) and the *magistri equitum* (master of the horse), under the *magister utriusque militæ* (the general in chief of the whole army). Their subordinate commanders were called

comites and *duces*. Constantine considerably reduced the army. In the arrangement of the troops he also made considerable alterations; these, however, were but of slight consequence compared with that which was produced by admitting into the service a continually increasing number of barbarians.

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Notitia dignitatum utriusque Imperii cum not. PANCIROLI in GRÆV. *Thesaur. Antiquitat. Rom.* vol. vii.

9. It would naturally be expected that these Taxes great changes should lead to others in the system of taxation. New taxes, or old ones revived, were added to those already existing, and became, by the manner in which they were collected, doubly oppressive. We shall particularly notice, *a.* The annual land-tax (*indictio*). *b.* The tax upon trade (*aurum lustrale*). *c.* The free gift (*don. gratuit.*), now grown into an obligatory tax (*aurum coronarium*). To these we must add the municipal expenses, which fell entirely upon the citizens, and especially upon the civic officers (*decuriones*), places which must have been generally held by the rich, as Constantine had in a great part appropriated the wealth of the cities to the endowment of churches and the clergy.

a. The land-tax, or *indiction*, which if not first introduced by Constantine was entirely regulated under him, was collected after an exact register, or public valuation, of all the landed estates. Its amount was yearly fixed and subscribed by the emperor (*indicebatur*), and divided by the rectors of provinces and the *decurions* to be collected.

As this register was probably revised every fifteen years, it gave rise to the *cycle of indictions* of fifteen years, which became the common era, beginning from September 1, 312. In this manner the tax reached all landed property. *b.* The tax on commerce; which was levied on almost every kind of trade. It was collected every four years, whence the *aurum lustrale*. *c.* The *aurum coronarium* grew out of the custom which obtained of

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Spread of the Christian religion.

10. The rapid spread of the Christian religion, the promulgation of which was enforced as a duty upon all its professors, was now accelerated by the endeavours of the court. Constantine forbade sacrifices, and shut up the temples; the violent zeal of his successors unfortunately soon turned them into ruins.

Histoire de Constantin-le-Grand, par le R. P. BERN. DE VARENNE. Paris, 1778, 4to.

Vita di Constantino il Grande dell' ABB. FR. GUSTA. Fuligno, 1786. Both, and especially the first, written in a tone of panegyric; the latest, and by far the best, is

† *Life of Constantine the Great*, by J. C. F. MANSO. Bresl. 1817. With several very learned appendixes, which clear up some particular points.

Constantine, Constantius, and Constans.

11. The three Cæsars and sons of Constantine the Great, Constantine, 337—340; Constantius, 337—361; and Constans, 337—350; had been carefully educated, and yet resembled one another as much by their vices as they did in their names. They indeed divided the empire again upon the death of their father; but were so eager after territory, which none of them were qualified to govern, that a series of wars followed for the next twelve years, till at last Constantius was left master of the whole; and by the murder of most of his relations secured himself the throne.

In the partition of the empire Constantine obtained the *præfectura Galliarum*, Constans the *præfectura Italiae et Illyrici*, and Constantius the *præfectura orientis*. But as Constantine desired to add Italy and Africa to his portion, he attacked Constans, and thereby lost his life, so that Constans came into

the possession of the western countries. In consequence, however, of his wretched government, Magnentius, a general, proclaimed himself emperor in Gaul, and Constans was slain during his flight, 350. A war with Constantius, now occupied in the east, became inevitable, and broke out 351. The usurper was defeated first at Mursa in Pannonia, then retreating into Gaul he was again defeated, 353; thereupon he slew himself, together with his family.

12. As Constantius—sunk in effeminacy and debauchery, and surrounded and governed by eunuchs—wanted help, he took his cousin Constantius Gallus, whose father he had formerly slain, to his assistance, created him Cæsar, and sent him into the east against the Parthians. His arrogance, however, which was increased by his wife Constantine, rendered him so dangerous that Constantius recalled him, and caused him, upon his return, to be put to death in Istria. His younger brother Fl. Julian, of whom the suspicious Constantius believed he had nothing to fear, was promoted in his place, created Cæsar, and sent to defend the frontiers on the Rhine. Although Julian passed suddenly from study to warfare, he not only fought against the Germans with success, but also made a deep inroad into their country. Nevertheless, the jealousy of Constantius—who, after his generals had been beaten by the Persians, who wished to reconquer the provinces they had ceded, marched against them himself, and wished to recall gradually the troops of Julian to his own assistance—decided him to accept the diadem which his soldiers offered him. While marching, however, along the Danube against Constantius, he received information of that prince's death in Asia.

Constantius
alone.

351.

354.

Nov. 6,
355.

361.

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PERIOD.Julian,
March, 360
—June 25,
363.

13. Fl. Julian (the apostate), who reigned from his twenty-ninth to his thirty-second year, was the last and most highly gifted prince of the house of Constantine. Instructed by misfortunes and study, he yet had some faults, though certainly free from vice. He began with a reform in the luxury of the court. His abjuration of the religion now become dominant, which he wished to annihilate by degrees, was a state fault in the eyes of the historian, which he must have discovered to his cost if his reign had been prolonged. Wishing, however, to terminate the war against the Persians, he penetrated as far as the Tigris, where he lost his life in an engagement, after a reign of three years.

† *The Emperor Julian and his Times*, by AUGUST. NEANDER. Leipsic, 1812. An historical sketch.

Jovian,
June 25,
363—Feb.
24, 364.

14. Fl. Jovianus, now thirty-three years of age, was immediately raised to the purple by the army. He concluded a peace with the Persians, by which he restored them all the territory that had been conquered from them since the year 297. After a short reign of eight months he was carried off by a sudden disorder; and the army proclaimed Fl. Valentinian at Nice in his stead.

Valentinian
and Valens.

Valentinian almost immediately associated his brother Valens with himself in the government, and divided the empire by giving him the *præfectura orientis*, and retaining the rest for himself.

Valentinian
Feb. 26,
364—Nov.
17, 375.

15. The reign of Valentinian I. in the east, who, in the year 367, created his son Gratian Augustus with himself, is distinguished by the system of toleration which he followed

with regard to the affairs of religion, though in other respects cruel. Nearly the whole of his reign was taken up in almost continual struggles with the German nations, who had recovered from the losses they had suffered under Julian. His first efforts were directed against the Franks, the Saxons, and the Alemanni on the Rhine; and afterwards against the Quadi and other nations on the Danube; where he died of apoplexy at Guntz in Hungary.

16. In the mean time his brother Valens, aged 38—52 years, had to contend with a powerful insurrection which had broken out in the east. A certain Procopius had instigated the people to this, by taking advantage of the discontent occasioned by the oppression of Valens, who, having adopted the opinion of the Arians, was more disliked in the east than his brother was in the west. His war against the Persians was ended 373. by a truce. But the most important event that happened during his reign, was the entrance of the Huns into Europe, which took place towards its close. This invasion caused the great emigration of nations, by which the Roman empire in the west must properly be said to have been overthrown. The first consequence thereof was the admission of the greater part of the Visigoths into the Roman empire, and that gave rise to a war which cost Valens his life.

The Huns, a nomad people of Asia, belonged to the great Mongolian race. Having penetrated to the Don, 373, they subdued the Goths upon that river as far as the Theiss. The Goths, divided into Ostrogoths and Visigoths, were separated from one another by the Dnieper. The former, driven from their country,

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fell upon the Visigoths, in consequence of which the emperor Valens was requested by the latter to grant them admission into the Roman empire, and with the exception of the Vandals, who had been seated in Pannonia from the time of Constantine, they were the first barbarian nation that had been settled within the boundaries of the empire. The scandalous oppression of the Roman governor, however, drove them into rebellion; and as Valens marched against them, he was defeated near Adrianople and lost his life, 378.

Gratian,
375—383,
and

Valentinian
II. 375—
392.

17. During these events, Gratian (aged 16—24 years) succeeded his father Valentinian I. in the west, and immediately associated his brother, Valentinian II. (aged 5—21 years) with himself in the empire; giving him, though under his own superintendence, the *præfectura Italie et Illyrici*. Gratian set forward to the assistance of his uncle Valens against the Goths, but receiving on his march an account of his defeat and death, and fearing the east might fall a prey to the Goths, he raised Theodosius, a Spaniard, who had already distinguished himself as a warrior, to the purple, and gave him the *præfectura orientis et Illyrici*.

Revolt of
Maximus,
383.

18. The indolent reign of Gratian led to the rebellion of Maximus, a commander in Britain, who, crossing into Gaul, was so strongly supported by the defection of the Gallic legions, that Gratian was obliged to seek safety in flight. He was, however, overtaken and put to death at Lyons. By this event Maximus found himself in possession of all the *præfectura Galliarum*; and by promising Theodosius not to interfere with the young Valentinian II. in Italy, he prevailed upon him to acknowledge him emperor. Breaking, however, his word by the invasion of

Italy, he was defeated and made prisoner by Theodosius in Pannonia, and soon after executed. FOURTH PERIOD. 388.

Upon this Valentinian II. a youth of whom great hopes were entertained, became again master of all the west. He, however, was murdered by the offended Arbogast, his *magister militum*; who, the way being open, raised to the throne his friend Eugenius, *magister officiorum*. Theodosius, Eugenius. however, would not acknowledge him; but declared war against him and made him prisoner. He thus became himself master of the whole empire, but died the following year.

19. The vigorous reign of Theodosius in the east, from his thirty-fourth to his fiftieth year, Theodosius the Great, Jan. 19, 379—Jan. 17, 395. was not less dedicated to politics than to religion. The dexterity with which he at first broke the power of the victorious Goths (though they still preserved their quarters in the provinces on the Danube), procured him considerable influence, which the strength and activity of his character enabled him easily to maintain. The blind zeal, however, with which he persecuted Arianism, now the prevailing creed in the east, and restored the orthodox belief, as well as the persecutions which he directed against the pagans and the destruction of their temples, occasioned most dreadful convulsions. His efforts to preserve the boundaries of the empire, not a province of which was lost before his death, required an increase of taxes; and however oppressive this might be, we cannot impute it to the ruler as a crime. In an empire so enfeebled in itself, and which, nevertheless, had powerful foes on every side to

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contend with, it followed that every active reign would be oppressive. Yet never before had the internal depopulation of the empire made it necessary to take so many barbarians into Roman pay, as under this reign; whence naturally followed a change in the arms and tactics of the Roman armies.

P. ERASM. MULLER, *de genio sæculi Theodosiani*. Havnia, 1798, 2 vols. A very learned and in every respect excellent description of the deeply-decayed Roman world as it now stood.

Final divi-
sion of the
Roman
empire.

20. Theodosius left two sons, between whom the empire was divided. Both parts, however, were certainly considered as forming but one empire—an opinion which afterwards prevailed, and even till late in the middle ages had important consequences—yet never since this period have they been reunited under one ruler. The eastern empire, comprising the *præfectura orientis et Illyrici*, was allotted to the eldest son, Arcadius, aged 18—31, under the guardianship of Rufinus the Gaul. The western, or the *præfectura Galliarum et Italiæ*, to the younger, Honorius, aged 11—39, under the guardianship of the Vandal Stilico.

Arcadius,
395—408.

Honorius,
395—423.

21. The western empire, to the history of which we shall now confine ourselves, suffered such violent shocks during the reign of Honorius, as made its approaching fall plainly visible. The intrigues of Stilico to procure himself the government of the whole empire, opened a way for the Goths into its interior, just at a time when they were doubly formidable, fortune having given them a leader greatly superior to any they had

hitherto had. Alaric king of the Visigoths established himself and his people in the Roman empire, became master of Rome, and mounted the throne: it was the mere effect of chance circumstances that he did not overthrow it altogether.

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Alaric king
of the Visi-
goths.

Both Honorius and Arcadius, and especially the latter, belong to that class of men who never come to years of maturity; their favourites and ministers therefore governed according to their inclination. Stilico, who made Honorius his son-in-law, was not deficient, however, in abilities for governing; and his endeavour to obtain the management of the whole empire, arose, perhaps, from the conviction that it was necessary he should have it. He could not, however, gain his object by intrigue; for after the murder of Rufinus, 395, he found a still more powerful opponent in the eunuch Eutropius, his successor in the east. Under the regency of Stilico, Gaul, in consequence of its troops being withdrawn to oppose Alaric, 400, was inundated by German tribes—by Vandals, Alani, and Suevi—who from thence penetrated even into Spain. Still, however, he preserved Italy from their attacks by the victory which he gained, 403, over Alaric at Verona; and again over Radagaisus, 405, who had advanced with other German hordes as far as Florence. But Stilico, having entered into a secret alliance with Alaric, for the purpose of wresting eastern Illyrica from the empire of the east, was outdone by the intrigues of the new favourite Olympius, whose cabal knew how to take advantage of the weakness of Honorius, and of the jealousy of the Roman and foreign soldiers. Stilico was accused of aspiring to the throne, and was executed August 23, 408. Rome lost in him the only general that was left to defend her. Alaric invaded Italy the same year, 408, and the besieged Rome was obliged to purchase peace; the conditions, however, not being fulfilled, he was again, 409, before Rome, became master of the city, and created Attalus *præfectus urbi* (emperor) instead of Honorius, who had shut himself up in Ravenna. In 410 he assumed the diadem; and, making himself master of the city by force, gave it up to be sacked by his troops. While afterwards projecting the capture of Sicily

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and Africa, he died in Lower Italy. His brother-in-law and successor, Adolphus, together with his Goths, left the worn out Italy, 412, went into Gaul, and crossing afterwards into Spain, founded there the empire of the Visigoths: he carried, however, with him Placidia the sister of Honorius, either as prisoner or as hostage, whom he married in Gaul. During these events an usurper arose in Britain and Gaul named Constantine, 407: he was vanquished, however, and put to death, 411, by Constantius, one of Honorius's generals. This latter prince not only gave Constantius his sister Placidia, who had become a widow and was restored in 417, in marriage, but also named him Augustus in 421. He died, however, a few months after, so that Placidia henceforward had a considerable share in the government. She went nevertheless, 423, to Constantinople, where she remained until the death of Honorius.

† *Fl. Stilico, or the Wallenstein of Antiquity*, by CHR. FR. SCHULZE, 1805. Not written by way of comparison.

22. In this manner was a great part of Spain, and part of Gaul, cut off from the Roman empire during the reign of Honorius. After his death the secretary John usurped the government, but was defeated by the eastern emperor Theodosius II. The nephew of Honorius, Valentinian III. a minor (aged 6—36), was then raised to the throne, under the guardian care of his mother Placidia († 450). Under his miserable reign the western empire was stripped of almost all her provinces with the exception of Italy. Yet the government of his mother, and afterwards his own incapacity, were as much the cause as the stormy migration of nations, which now convulsed all Europe.

423.

425.

Valentinian
III. 425—
455.

Britain had been voluntarily left by the Romans since 427. In Africa, the governor Boniface having been driven into rebellion by the intrigues of the Roman general Ætius, who possessed

the ear of Placidia, invited the Vandals from Spain, under the command of Genseric, to come to his assistance. The latter then got possession of the country, 429—439: indeed, even as early as 435, Valentinian was obliged to make a formal cession of it to them. Valentinian's wife Eudoxia, a Grecian princess, was purchased by the cession of the western Illyricum (Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Noricum); so that of all the countries south of the Danube there now only remained to him those which belonged to the prefecture of Italy: Rhætia and Vindelicia. In the south-east part of Gaul was formed, 435, the kingdom of the Burgundians, which, besides the south-east part of France, comprised also Switzerland and Savoy. The south-west was under the dominion of the Visigoths. There remained only the territory north of the Loire which still submitted to the Roman governors; the last of whom, Syagrius, survived the fall of the empire itself; holding out till the year 486, when he was defeated near Soissons by Clovis king of the Franks.

23. But while the western empire seemed thus The Huns. of itself almost to fall to pieces, another impetuous rush of nations took place, which threatened the whole of western Europe. The victorious hordes of Huns who now occupied the territory formerly the seat of the Goths, between the Don and the Theiss, and even as far as the Volga, had united themselves, since the year 444, under one common chief, Attila; who, by this union and his Attila. own superior talents as a warrior and ruler, became the most powerful prince of his times. The eastern empire having bought a peace by paying him a yearly tribute, he fell with a mighty force 450. upon the western provinces. The united forces, however, of the Romans under Ælius and the Visigoths, forced him near Chalons (*in campis Catalaunicis*) to a retreat. Nevertheless, the following 451. year he again invaded Italy, where he had an

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- understanding with the licentious Honoria, Valentinian's sister. The cause of his second retreat, which was soon followed by his death, is unknown. The miserable Valentinian soon after deprived the Roman empire of its best general, being led by his suspicions to put Ætius to death. He himself, however, was soon doomed to undergo the punishment of his debaucheries, being murdered in a conspiracy formed by Petronius Maximus, whose wife he had dishonoured, and some friends of Ætius, whose execution he had ordered.

24. The twenty years which intervened between the assassination of Valentinian, and the final destruction of the Roman empire in the west, were nearly one continued series of intestine revolutions. No less than nine sovereigns rapidly succeeded one another. These changes, indeed, were but of little importance in this troublesome period, compared to the terror with which Genseric king of the Visigoths filled the Roman empire: he by his naval power having become master of the Mediterranean and Sicily, could ravage the coasts of the defenceless Italy at his pleasure, and even capture Rome itself. While in Italy, the German Ricimer, general of the foreign troops in Roman pay, permitted a series of emperors to reign in his name. It would have been his lot to put an end to this series of Augusti, but for mere chance circumstances, which reserved that glory for his son and successor, Odoacer, four years after his father's death.

After the death of Valentinian, Maximus was proclaimed em-

peror; but as he wished to compel Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, to marry him, she called over Genseric from Africa, who took and pillaged Rome, and Maximus perished after a reign of three months, 455. He was succeeded by M. Avitus, who ascended the throne at Arles; and he again was soon deposed by Ricimer, 456, who, just before, had defeated the fleet of the Vandals. Ricimer now placed upon the throne, first Julianus Majorianus, April 1, 457; but he, having distinguished himself in the wars against the Vandals, 461, was set aside, and Libius Severus put in his place, who, however, died in 465, probably of poison. His death was followed by an interregnum of two years, during which Ricimer ruled, though without the title of emperor. At length the patrician Anthemius, then at Constantinople (where they never gave up their pretensions to the right of naming or confirming the sovereigns of the west), was, though with the consent of the mighty Ricimer, named emperor of the west, April 12, 467, by the emperor Leo. Differences, however, soon broke out between him and Ricimer, who thereupon retired to Milan, 469, and commenced a war, in which he took and sacked Rome, whereby Anthemius perished. Ricimer himself soon after followed, † Aug. 18, 472. After Anthemius, Anicius Olybrius, son-in-law of Valentinian III. was proclaimed Augustus, but dying in three months, Oct. 472, Glycerius assumed the purple at Ravenna, without, however, being acknowledged at Constantinople, where they in preference named Julius Nepos Augustus. The latter, in 474, having expelled Glycerius, became also in his turn expelled by his own general Orestes, 475, who gave the diadem to his son Romulus Momyllus, who, as the last in the succession of Augusti, acquired the surname of Augustulus. In 476, however, Odoacer, the leader of the Germans in the Roman pay at Rome, sent him, after the execution of Orestes, into captivity, and allowed him a pension. Odoacer now remained master of Italy till the year 492, when the Ostrogoths, under their king Theodoric, founded there a new empire.

25. Thus fell the Roman empire of the west, while that of the east, pressed on every side, and in a situation almost similar, endured a thousand years, notwithstanding its intestine broils, which would alone have sufficed to destroy any other,

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and the hosts of barbarians who attacked it during the middle ages. The impregnable situation of its capital, which usually decides the fate of such kingdoms; joined to its despotism, which is not unfrequently the main support of a kingdom in its decline, can alone, in some measure, explain a phenomenon which has no equal in the history of the world.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGY OF HERODOTUS TO THE TIME OF CYRUS, EXTRACTED FROM THE RESEARCHES OF MR. VOLNEY. See Preface.

ALTHOUGH Herodotus did not write his work in chronological order, yet we cannot doubt but that he had some general plan by which he computed time. By selecting and comparing with care the separate data scattered throughout his work, this to a certain extent may be traced out, whereby early history, with regard to a settled chronology, must necessarily gain a good deal. The following essay is founded upon a procedure of this kind; it is drawn entirely from Herodotus, and only from data which he has precisely determined, the passages of his work being always referred to.

The year B. C. 561, in which the fall of Astyages and the Median empire took place, as may be proved from Herodotus himself, is a fixed point of time from which we may ascend into higher antiquity. This point of time may be determined by the chronological data respecting the battle of Marathon, four years before the death of Darius (Herodotus, VII. 1. 4.), agreeing with the general data of the Greeks, who fix it in the third year of the 72nd Olymp. B. C. 490. By adding to this the thirty-two years of Darius's reign that had already elapsed (Herodotus, *ibid.*), the eight months of Smerdis (Herodotus, III. 68.), the seven years and five months of Cam-

byses (Herodotus, III. 66.), and the twenty-nine years of Cyrus (Herodotus, I. 214.), we obtain the year 560 as the first year of Cyrus.

I. CHRONOLOGY OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE.

	B. C.
End of the Median empire.....	561.
Duration of the Median empire one hundred and fifty-six years (Herodotus, I. 130.)	
The beginning of it, therefore, after their separation from the Assyrians, would be.....	717.
In this period, at first six years of anarchy *	716—710.
Reign of Deioces fifty-three years (Herodotus, I. 102.)	710—657.
—— Phraortes, twenty-two years (ibid.).....	657—635.
Cyaxares, forty years (I. 106.).....	635—595.
Irruption and dominion of the Scythians, twenty-eight years (I. 203. 106.).....	625—598.
Conquest of Nineveh (I. 106.).....	597.
Astyages reigned thirty-five years (I. 130.).....	595—561.

The succession of Median kings given by Ctesias, which entirely differs from this, the author thinks might be explained by a duplication; see † *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1810, p. 4.

II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE SYRIAN EMPIRE.

The dominion of the Assyrians over Asia, or their empire, ended with the revolt of the Medes (Herodotus, I. 95.); although the existence of their state did not then end, but terminated with the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares, B. C. 597.

	B. C.
Revolt of the Medes, as above.....	717.
The dominion of the Assyrians had endured five hundred and twenty years, (Herodotus, I. 95.)	
The Assyrian empire lasted therefore from.....	1237—717.

* These are certainly not determined from Herodotus; but they remain after subtracting the one hundred and fifty years' reign of the four Median kings.

As Herodotus intended to write the history of this empire in a separate work (I. 184.), he only casually mentions (I. 7.) its founder Ninus, who began to reign 1237; and afterwards Sennacherib and his expedition (II. 141.); and the last king, Sardanapalus (II. 150.).

The mention of Sennacherib and his expedition furnishes a point of time for comparing the chronology of Herodotus with that of the Bible or the Jews. According to the latter, Sennacherib's expedition took place, B. C. 714. (see above, p. 26.); his death takes place immediately after, and he has for his successor Esarhaddon, 2 Kings, xix. 37. Here then is certainly a contradiction, since, according to Herodotus, the Assyrian dominion had ceased three years before, namely, 717. Mr. Volney endeavours to reconcile this difficulty by the restoration of an ancient reading into the sacred text; according to which Amon, king of Judæa, reigned twelve years instead of two (2 Kings, xxi. 19.); from which it would follow, that the expedition of Sennacherib took place in 724. As this would leave seven years after his death for his successor Esarhaddon, who agrees both in time and name with the Sardanapalus of the Greeks (the Greek name being formed from Esarhaddon, Pal. i. e. Esar, the lord, son of Phal), the two chronologies are thus made to agree exactly. But even in following the ancient usual reading, the greatest difference between the two statements is only ten years; quite as little as can be reasonably expected under such circumstances.

With regard to the Assyrian chronology of

Ctesias, Mr. Volney has satisfactorily shown that it is full of contradictions, and undeserving of any belief.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LYDIAN EMPIRE.

The arrangement of the Lydian chronology rests upon the settlement of two principal facts: first, the great eclipse of the sun under Alyattes, foretold by Thales (Herodotus, I. 74.); and secondly, the conquest of Sardis, and overthrow of the empire under Cræsus, by Cyrus; both of which Herodotus certainly mentions, but without fixing any precise date. But by a careful comparison of all the data it is proved, that the great eclipse in Asia Minor (according to the Tables of Pingré) happened in the year 625; and the conquest of Sardis, and the end of the Lydian empire, B. C. 557, or in the fourth year of Cyrus. Therefore:

	B. C.
End of the Lydian empire.....	557.

It endured under three houses; under that of the Attyadæ (fabulous and uncertain); under that of the Heraclidæ, five hundred and five years (Herodotus, I. 7.); and under the last, that of the Mermnadæ, one hundred and seventy years.

The Heraclidæ and Mermnadæ, then, reigned altogether six hundred and seventy-five years. Therefore:

	B. C.
Commencement of the reign of the Heraclidæ, with Agron, the son of Ninus (I. 7.).....	1232.
End of this house by the murder of Candaules, by Gyges.....	727.

By fixing the time of Agron, son of Ninus,

Herodotus verifies himself (I. 7.); as, by the preceding data, Ninus began his reign in Assyria, 1237; consequently, it must have been in the fifth year of his reign that he conquered Lydia, and placed his son Agron upon its throne.

B. C.

Dominion of the Mermnadæ, one hundred and seventy years, by kings of that house.....	727—557.
Gyges, thirty-eight years (Herodotus, I. 14).....	727—689.
Ardys, forty-nine years (Herodotus, I. 16.).....	689—640.
First irruption of the Cimmerians.....	670.
Sadyattes, twelve years (Herodotus, I. 16.).....	640—628.
Alyattes, fifty-seven years (Herodotus, I. 25.).....	628—571.
War with Cyaxares, ending with the great eclipse, and second irruption of the Cimmerians.....	625.
Cræsus, fourteen years and fourteen days (Herodotus, I. 86.).....	571—557.

IV. CHRONOLOGY OF THE BABYLONIANS.

For this as well as for the Egyptians there is no evidence to guide us, the data being very scanty, and taken from Herodotus alone. The chronology of the Babylonians begins, according to the canon of Ptolemey, with Nabonassar, 747, to whom succeed twelve kings from the canon of Ptolemey down to Nabopolassar; (see above, p. 28.)

B. C.

Nabopolassar.....	627—604.
Nebuchadnezzar.....	604—561.
Evil-Merodach.....	561—559.
Neriglissar.....	559—555.
Labynetus.....	555—538.
Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus.....	538.

V. CHRONOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

Mr. Volney very properly commences this with the dodecarchy—as of the earlier periods only the time of Sesostris is placed in 1365;—and arranges it in the following manner.

	B. C.
Dodecarchy	671—656.
Psammetichus's sole dominion thirty-nine years	656—617.
Reign of Neco, sixteen years.....	617—601.
——— Psammis, six years.....	601—595.
——— Apries, twenty-five years.....	595—570.
——— Amasis, forty-four years.....	570—526.
Psammenitus, six months.....	525.
Conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes.....	

I. THE REIGNING HOUSES OF MACEDON.

I. HOUSE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

PHILIP † 336. married, 1. Olympias. 2. Cleopatra. (3. Concubines.)

1.	1.	3.
ALEXANDER THE GREAT † 323. married, 1. Roxana. (2. Barsine.)	Cleopatra.	PHILIP ARRHIDEUS † 317. Thessalonica married Eurydice.

1.	2.
ALEXANDER † 311. HERCULES † 309.	

II. HOUSE OF ANTIPATER.

ANTIPATER † 320.

CASSANDER † 298, married Thessalonica.

PHILIP † 297.	ANTIPATER † 294.	ALEXANDER † 294.
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III. HOUSE OF ANTIGONUS.

ANTIGONUS † 301.

DEMETRIUS I. POLIORCETES † 284.

Stratonice

married, 1. Seleucus I. 2. Antiochus I.

ANTIGONUS I. GONATAS † 242.

DEMETRIUS II. † 233. Alcyoneus.

PHILIP II. † 179.

ANTIGONUS II. DOSON † 241.

PERSEUS † 166. Demetrius † 180.

II. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.

<p>SELEUCUS I. NICATOR † 281. married, 1. Apame. 2. Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes.</p>	
<p>1. ANTIOCHUS I. SOTER † 262. married, 1. Stratonice, his mother-in-law. 2. Anonymous.</p>	<p>2. Phila married Antigonus Gonatas king of Macedonia.</p>
<p>1. ANTIOCHUS II. THEOS † 247. married, 1. Laodice, his sister-in-law. 2. Berenice, daughter of Ptol. Philad.</p>	<p>2. Laodice. married Magas of Cyrene.</p>
<p>1. SELEUCUS II. CALLINICUS † 227. married Laodice, daughter of Andromachus, father of Achæus.</p>	<p>1. Stratonice married Ariarathes IV. of Cappadocia.</p>
<p>SELEUCUS III. CERAUNUS † 224. married Mithridates IV. of Pontus.</p>	<p>ANTIOCHUS III. THE GREAT † 187. married Laodice, daughter of Mithridates IV. of Pontus.</p>
<p>Antiochus Laodice. SELEUCUS IV. PHILOPATOR † 176. married his sister Laodice.</p>	<p>Cleopatra married Ptolemy V. married Ariarathes V. of Cappad.</p>
<p>DEMETRIUS I. † 160. married Perseus king of Maced.</p>	<p>ANTIOCHUS V. EUPATOR † 161.</p>
<p>DEMETRIUS II. NICATOR † 126. married, 1. Cleopatra, daughter of Ptol. Philom. 2. Rhodogune.</p>	<p>ANTIOCHUS SIDETES † 131. married his daughter-in-law Cleopatra.</p>
<p>SELEUCUS V. † 125. married Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Ptol. Phys.</p>	<p>ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS † 96 married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptol. Phys.</p>
<p>Seleucus Epiph. Antioch. Epiph. Philippus Epiph. Demetr. Eucar. † 94. † 83. † 88.</p>	<p>ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES † c. 90. married Cleopatra Selene.</p>
	<p>ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS † 58. married Berenice, daughter of Ptol. Auletes.</p>

III. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PTOLEMEYS.

PTOLEMEY I. son of LAGUS † 284. married, 1. Eurydice, daughter of Antipater. 2. Berenice. (3. Concubines.)		
1.	2.	3.
Ptol. Ceraunus † 279. king of Macedonia.	Ptol. II. PHILADELPHUS † 246. married, 1. Arsinoe, daughter of Lysimachus. 2. His sister Arsinoe.	Magas of Cyrene. Berenice.
PTOL. III. EVERGETES † 221. married Berenice, daughter of Magas.		
Berenice married Antiochus Theos.		
PTOL. IV. PHILOPATOR † 204. married, 1. His sister Arsinoe. (2. Agathoclea.)	Magas. Arsinoe.	
PTOL. V. EPIPHANES † 181. married Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great.		
PTOL. VI. PHILOMETOR † 145. married his sister Cleopatra.	Cleopatra.	PTOL. VII. PHYSCON † 117. married, 1. His sister Cleopatra. 2. Cleopatra the younger, (3. Irene.)
Cleopatra the younger.		
2.	2.	2.
PTOL. VIII. LATHYRUS † 81. married, 1. 2. his two sisters. (3. Concubines.)	Cleop. Selene. Ptol. ALEXANDER I. † 88. Cleopatra. married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptol. Lathyrus.	3. Ptol. Apion, king of Cyrene, † 97.
2.	3.	3.
Cleopatra † 88. Cl. Berenice. Ptol. AULETIS † 51. married, 1. His sister Cleop. † 57. 2. Unknown.	Ptol. of Cyprus. Cleopatra. Ptol. ALEXANDER II. † 80. married Cleop. Berenice.	† Ptol. Alex. III. † 66.
1.	2.	2.
BERENICE † 55. married, 1. Seleucus Cynbros. married, 1. 2. her brothers. (3. Jul. Cesar.) 4. Antony.	PTOL. DIONYSIUS † 47. married Cleopatra.	PTOL. the younger † 44. married Cleopatra. † 43.

IV. THE REIGNING HOUSES OF THE JEWS.

HOUSE OF MACCABÆUS.

Matthias † B. C. 166.

Judas Maccabæus, general of the army † 161.	Jonathan, high priest † 143.	Simon, high priest and ethnarch, † 135.
		John Hyrcanus † 107.
	Aristobulus I. † 106, king and high priest.	Alex. I. Jannæus † 79. married Alexandra.
		Hyrcanus II. † 30. high priest and ethnarch.
		Aristobulus. † 49.
	Alexander II. † 49.	Antigonus † 37.
	Aristobulus † 34.	Mariamne † 28. married Herod the Great.

II. HOUSE OF HEROD.

Antipater † 43.

Salome.	Herod the Great † A. C. 3.	Antipas, tetrarch, † A. C. 34.
	married, 1. Doris. 2. Mariamne. 3. Many others.	
Antipater † A. C. 3.	Alexander † B. C. 5.	Archelaus, ethnarch, deposed A. C. 39. married Herodias.
		Herod II. Agrippa † A. C. 44.
		Herod Agrippa † A. C. 100.

V. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CÆSARS.

I.

C. Julius Cæsar, pretor, † 84.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, dictator,
† 44.

Julia † 52. married Pompey.

Octavia the elder
married M. Marcellus.

Octavia the younger
married, 1. C. Marcellus.
2. Pompey. 3. M. Antony.

Julia † 52.
married Accius Balbus.

Accia † 42. married C. Octavius.

C. OCTAVIUS (CÆSAR AUGUSTUS)
† A. C. 14. (see No. II.)

II.

CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS † A. C. 14.
married, 1. Scribonia. 2. Livia, widow of Tiberius Claudius Nero.

1. Julia † A. C. 17.
married, 1. M. Cl. Marcellus. 2. Agrippa. 3. Tiberius.

2. C. Cæsar I. Cæsar
† A. C. 4. † A. C. 2. Agrippina † A. C. 35. Julia Agrippa Posthumus
married Germanicus. † A. C. 30. † A. C. 14.

Tiberius Nero † A. C. 37.
married, 1. Vipsania. 2. Julia.
Nero Claudius Drusus † 9.
married Antonia the younger.

Drusus Cæsar † A. C. 25. Germanicus
married Agrippina. † A. C. 19.
Claudius † A. C. 54.
married, 1. Messalina.
2. Agrippina.

Nero Drusus Caius CALPURNIA Agrippina
† A. C. 29. † A. C. 38. † A. C. 41. married, 1. Cn. Britannicus
Domitius. † A. C. 34.
2. Claudius.
1. Octavia
married Nero.

1.

Domitius NERO † A. C. 68.
married, 1. Octavia. 2. Poppæa Sabina.

VI. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE.

<p>CONSTANTINUS CHLORUS † 306. married, 1. Helena. 2. Theodora.</p>			
<p>CONSTANTINE the Great † 337. married, 1. Minervina. 2. Fausta.</p>		<p>CONSTANTIA married C. Valer. LICINIUS, Caesar, married, 1. Gallia. 2. Basilina.</p>	
<p>1. CRISPUS † 326.</p>	<p>2. CONSTANTINE † 340.</p>	<p>2. CONSTANTINUS † 361.</p>	<p>1. JULIUS † 354.</p>
<p>2. CONSTANS † 350.</p>		<p>2. FL. Valer. LICINIUS † 326.</p>	
<p>2. CONSTANTINUS † 337.</p>		<p>2. JULIAN (the apostate) † 363.</p>	
<p>1. DALMATIUS † 339.</p>		<p>2. ANNIBALIANUS † 338.</p>	

THE END.



